

BENI HASSAN

Art and Daily Life in an Egyptian Province

Naguib Kanawati and Alexandra Woods

Preface by

Zahi Hawass

Beni Hassan

Art and Daily Life in an Egyptian Province

Naguib Kanawati and Alexandra Woods

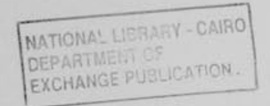
Preface by
Zahi Hawass

With photographic contributions by Effy Alexakis
and drawings by Sameh Shafik, Naguib Victor and Mary Hartley

First English Edition 2010

Front Cover: Foreigners in the tomb of Khnumhotep II
Title Page: Detail of the foreigners in the tomb of Khnumhotep II
Back Cover: Detail of the care of oryx in the nome in the tomb of Khnumhotep II

Dar al Kuttub Registration No.: 24436 / 2009
I.S.B.N: 978-977- 479-792 -8



BENI HASSAN

Art and Daily Life in an Egyptian Province



For Professor. Dr. Zahi Hawass,

whose support and encouragment through the years are gratefully acknowledged

Contents

List of Figures

Preface

The tombs of Beni Hassan are among the most important Middle Kingdom tombs in Egypt. In 1968, when I was inspector at Tuna el-Gebel, I frequently visited the site. I also enjoyed visiting the tombs at Deir el-Bersha.

The wall scenes in these tombs are amazing; they depict scenes of warfare that lead some scholars to theorize that the events portrayed on the walls occurred during the troubled time of the First Intermediate Period. However, these scenes are part of the tomb's decorative program, and can be found elsewhere in other ancient Egyptian tombs. The same type of scenes, for example, were identified during the work of the SCA at the site of Abusir near the causeway of Sahure's pyramid.

One of the most popular scenes at Beni Hassan amongst scholars and the public is the scene from a 12th Dynasty tomb depicting 37 Asiatics arriving in Egypt. Their clothes, hair, and beards are all depicted in the Syrio-Palestinian style, indicate to us that they are, in fact, Asiatics. The leader of the group is called "Ibsha", and a few Biblical Studies scholars have tentatively associated him with the prophet Ibrahim.

This book, written by Naguib Kanawati and Alexandra Woods, is among few that explain and describe in detail the tombs at Beni Hassan. It is useful for scholars, tour guides, and students of Egyptology. In fact, this is the perfect book to bring with you when visiting these tombs. The text wonderfully describes the scenes on the walls and gives great and interesting interpretations of their functions. The book also offers references and comparable parallels, which are of great benefit to all.

I would like to thank both authors, Naguib Kanawati and Alexandra Woods, for publishing this interesting academic and informative book. Special thanks must go to Naguib Kanawati because he is a very prolific writer and scholar. I admire his hard work and urge him to continue on this path.

It brings me great joy to know that the Supreme Council of Antiquities Press is publishing this book, and hope that Kanawati intends on translating it into Arabic.

Zahi Hawass

Introduction and Acknowledgements

The end of the 19th Century and the first half of the 20th saw a significant amount of archaeological activity in Egypt. During this period various sites were excavated and recorded including those in the Memphite region as well as in Upper Egypt. Between 1893 and 1900 Percy E. Newberry along with other Egyptologists worked at Beni Hassan under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Fund. Although they were not the first archaeologists to excavate and record the site, Newberry's publication of the upper cemetery in four volumes provides detailed plans and sections of the tombs' architectural designs as well as the most complete facsimile drawings of the decorated tombs.[1] Newberry's record of Beni Hassan continues to serve the Egyptological community, even though the work was undertaken well over 100 years ago. In recent years scholars have re-excavated and re-recorded many tombs in Egypt using modern standards of archaeological investigation with the intention of recording minor details in the scenes and inscriptions that have been uncovered after extensive conservation of the monuments. With the revival of archaeological fieldwork in Egypt after the 1960's, the Old and New Kingdom periods have been the focus of many projects and studies, while the Middle Kingdom does not seem to have received the attention it deserves.

A survey of Middle Kingdom tomb decoration illustrates that the general style and scene content is similar to representations in Old Kingdom tombs, which may be due to the fact that the function of tomb decoration was to a large extent the same in both periods.[2] The purpose of Egyptian funerary art in a tomb complex is highly controversial. Many scholars have presented varying opinions and conclusions and the complexities of this issue are beyond the scope of the present monograph. Whether the scenes in a tomb commemorate the life of the tomb owner and his/her family, encapsulate the *cosmos* of an elite official,[3] project the identity of the tomb owner in the afterlife or represent the tomb owner's desire to satisfy his/her need for sustenance in the hereafter, the depictions would seem to be based on the tomb owner's/artists life experience and observation of the world around them.[4] As will be argued in Chapter 1, the training of Egyptian artists in the Middle Kingdom may have used the art of Old Kingdom temples and tombs as a basis for composition, which may also account for the artistic similarities. Certain provincial governors such as those at Beni Hassan include scenes in their tombs that reflect the daily life in the province as a whole, rather than simply focusing on activities the tomb owners undertook or supervised as a part of their administrative responsibilities, which is common in Old Kingdom tomb decoration. In this book, the different artistic themes depicted at Beni Hassan have been compared to contemporary tombs as well as those dating to the Old Kingdom in order to highlight the continuity of artistic traditions in the two periods. A study of Old Kingdom tomb decoration therefore is of particular relevance to understand the scenes represented in Middle Kingdom tombs.

---

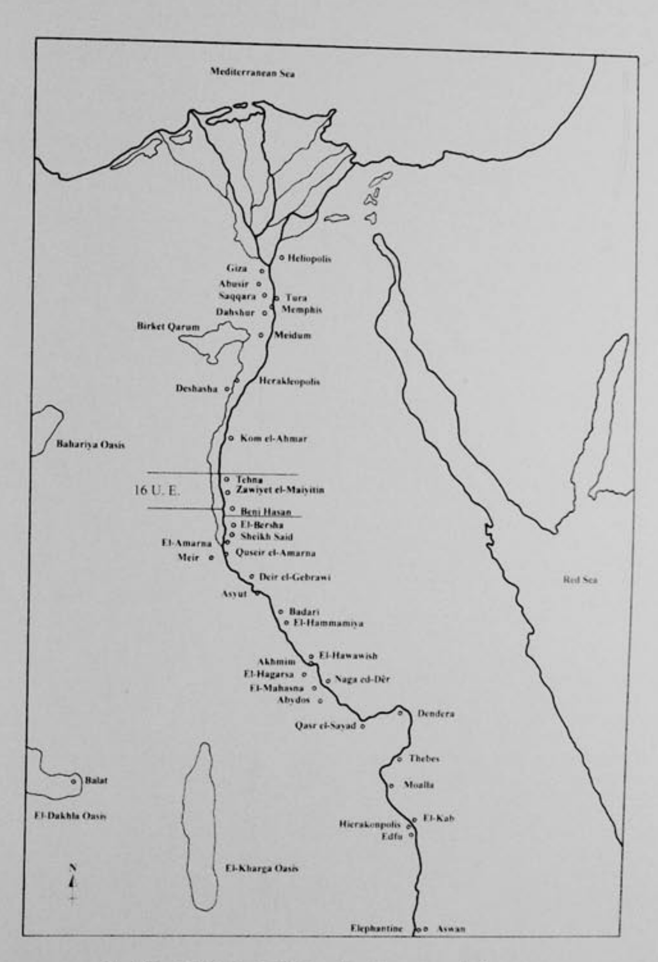
1. *PM* 4, 141-149; F. Junge, 'Beni Hassan', *LÄ* 1, 695-698; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* vols. 1-4, passim. For other records of the cemetery see Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, 121-133; Garstang, *Burial Customs*, passim.
2. Smith, *Art and Architecture*, 104; Robins, *Egyptian Art*, 102.
3. For a description of the term *cosmos* and its relevance to Beni Hassan see Kamrin, *Cosmos of Khnumhotep II*, 142-148.
4. For a discussion on the purpose of Egyptian art see C. Aldred, 'Grabdekoration', *LÄ* 2, 856; Davis, *Canonical Tradition*, 199-201; Kanawati, *Tomb and Beyond*, 112-122; Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity*, 49-50; Kamrin, *Cosmos of Khnumhotep II*, 139-168.

In an attempt to present the reader with an overview of the art and daily life in an Egyptian province during the Middle Kingdom, four of the best preserved tombs at Beni Hassan have been selected, with two tombs being chosen from the Eleventh Dynasty and two from the Twelfth Dynasty. Our main aim in this book is not to study the chronological development of artistic style in the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties at Beni Hassan but to gain an understanding of the life of the people in the province and identify the continuity of artistic traditions across different periods. With this aim in mind, we will consider the art, architecture and inscriptions in the selected tombs following the numbers given by Newberry, which are as follows: Amenemhat (Tomb No. 2), Khnumhotep II (Tomb No. 3), Baqet III (Tomb No. 15) and Khety (Tomb No. 17). Naturally, not every artistic theme is depicted in each tomb and frequently some scenes are clearer and better preserved in one chapel than in another. As a result, certain scenes have been selected and photographed based on the present condition of the walls, with the aim of providing the reader with a sound overview of artistic themes in the four tombs at Beni Hassan. As none of the burial chambers were decorated, the shafts and burial chambers are not considered in this monograph.

This book is divided into three chapters, with the first providing an overview of the history and importance of Beni Hassan as well as highlighting the significant architectural features and artistic themes found in the tombs. The second chapter offers a general description of each of the four selected tombs including: the titles and family background of each tomb owner in addition to a short description of the architectural features and the tomb's decorative scheme. A number of figures are included to illustrate the relevant architectural features and general views of the various walls in each tomb. The final chapter examines individual artistic themes in the chapels at Beni Hassan and compares the scenes with contemporary tombs as well as those from earlier periods at various sites in Egypt. All the architectural plans and sections in addition to the line drawings have been redrawn from Newberry's publication. The photographic plates forming the second half of the book highlight the varied artistic themes included in the selected tombs.

We would like to express our sincerest gratitude to Professor. Dr. Zahi Hawass, Secretary General of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, for allowing us to photograph the extraordinary site of Beni Hassan as well as for including the book among the publications of the SCA. Special thanks are due to the Director General of Middle Egypt, Mr. Adel Hassan, and to Mr. Reda Agila, Inspector of Antiquities at El-Minya, for providing every assistance in facilitating our work on site. Finally, we would like to offer our thanks to the Director General of the Printeries of the SCA, Mrs. Amal Safwat el-Alfy, and her staff for the care invested in the publication of this work. We would also like to thank Ms. Effy Alexakis for photographing the tombs in this study during May-June 2009. Dr. Sameh Shafik and Mrs. Mary Hartley carefully reproduced the intricate line drawings included in Chapters 1 and 2 (Figures 6-7, 9, 12 and 5, 8, 11, 14 respectively), while Mr. Naguib Victor was responsible for drawing figures 1 and 10 in Chapter 1 as well as the architectural plans and sections of the tombs in Chapter 2. Ms. Miral Lashien played an important role in the work on site, while Ms. Anna-Latifa Mourad, Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, Mrs. Lois Little and Mr. Alan Little assisted in the editing and reading of the manuscript. Ms. Mourad and Mrs. Leonie Donovan were also responsible for the preparation of the final images and layout for publication. We thank each and every person for their significant contribution, which has enabled this project to reach a successful conclusion.

N. Kanawati and A. Woods
Macquarie University
Sydney, Australia



Map of Egypt highlighting the 16th Upper Egyptian province – the Oryx-nome

Chapter 1

The History And Importance Of Beni Hassan

Beni Hassan is situated on the east bank of the Nile, approximately 25 km south of the town of El-Minya and falls within the ancient boundaries of the 16th Upper Egyptian province – the Oryx-nome.[1] The region was bordered on the north by the 17th U.E. or Jackal-nome and to the south by the 15th U.E. or Hare-nome.[2] With excellent rock formation, the region possesses some of the best limestone in the country after Tura, which has led to large scale quarrying activities in different periods. As a result, the nearby Old Kingdom cemetery of Zawiyet el-Maiyitin has suffered massive destruction, but fortunately the tombs at Beni Hassan are well preserved by comparison. The cemetery of Zawiyet el-Maiyitin, in the northern part of the province, is also positioned on the east bank of the Nile and was utilized as a burial ground as early as the Pre-Dynastic Period. The site continued to be used during the Old Kingdom, particularly in the Sixth Dynasty.[3] The eastern cliffs in the southern part of the nome also contain several cemeteries, dating from the Old Kingdom through to the Late Period.[4]

The tombs at Beni Hassan are cut in two ridges half-way up the mountain and command an impressive view across the river. The upper range shelters the great tombs of the nobles of the province, while the lower cemetery first came into use during the Old Kingdom with the construction of a series of chamber tombs and 'pit' tombs at the base of the cliffs.[5] The Old Kingdom tombs seem to have been re-used in the Middle Kingdom, based on the discovery of later coffins and wooden models.[6] The lower cemetery at Beni Hassan contains hundreds of shafts, each with a small chamber, which presumably belonged to the inhabitants of the region as well as officials and/or family members of the nobles buried in the upper cemetery.



Figure 1. Section of the site plan of Beni Hassan showing the upper and lower terraces
(After Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 2)

---

1. F. Junge, 'Beni Hassan', *LÄ* I, 695-698; *PM* 4, 141-163.
2. Baines and Malek, *Atlas*, 14-15.
3. *PM* 4, 134-139; Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 15-18.
4. Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 26-27.
5. Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 15, 30-34, pls. 3-4.
6. Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 36-41, 42-43.

The upper terrace contains 39 rock-cut tombs, which lie in a north-south row and belong to elite officials serving in the Oryx-nome.[7] Only 12 tombs are decorated with scenes and inscriptions and indicate that the tombs were built for officials holding a range of positions within the administration from 'great overlord of the Oryx-nome', 'overseer of the eastern desert', 'hereditary prince', 'count', 'overseer of the great army of the Oryx-nome' in addition to 'overseer of priests' of various regional deities. Of the 12 decorated tombs at Beni Hassan, 8 belong to governors of the Oryx-nome, who served during the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties.

For the purpose of this book, two tombs from each dynasty were selected to illustrate the features characteristic of the period. The 4 chosen tombs are extremely well preserved and are open to the public. Baqet III (Tomb No. 15) and Khety (Tomb No. 17) belong to the Eleventh Dynasty, while Amenemhat (Tomb No. 2) and Khnumhotep II (Tomb No. 3) are dated by cartouches and their biographical inscriptions to the Twelfth Dynasty, the former to the reign of king Senwosret I and the latter to the reigns of kings Amenemhat II and Senwosret II.[8]

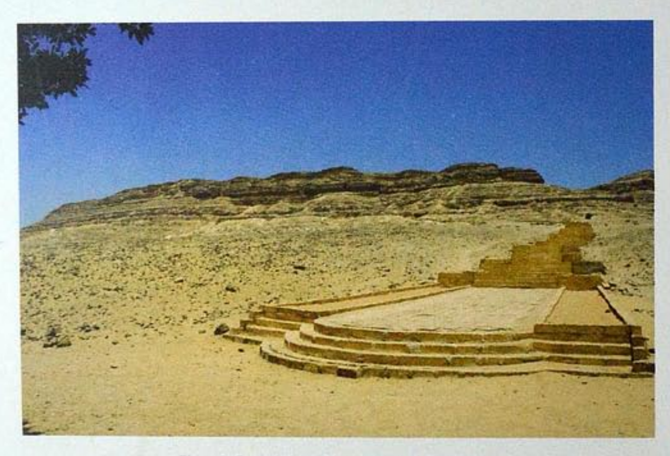


Figure 2. General view of the cemetery of Beni Hassan

[7] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 2.
[8] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 8, 38.

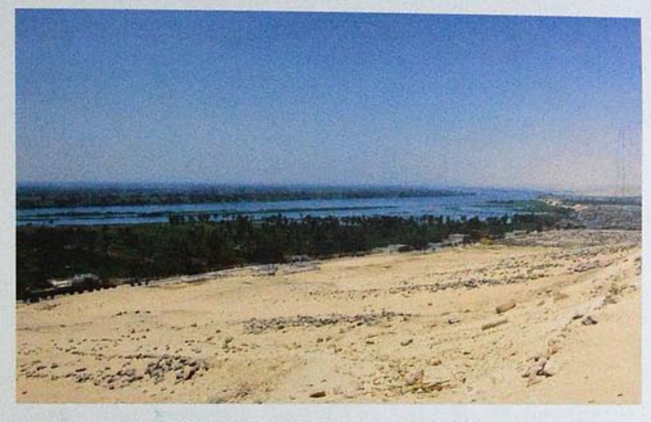


Figure 3. View of the Nile valley from the upper terrace of the cemetery

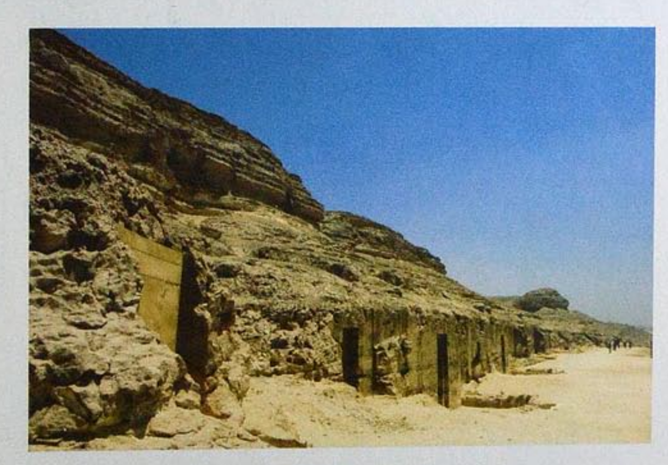


Figure 4. View of the upper terrace, looking south

As mentioned previously, all 39 tombs at Beni Hassan are excavated in a good stratum of white limestone and positioned on a continuous terrace overlooking a picturesque view of the winding river and rich green fields. The site as a burial ground was therefore carefully selected by the nobles of the Oryx-nome as an ideal eternal resting place. The rock-cut tombs at Beni Hassan remain among the most complete and important tombs of the Middle Kingdom and contain extensive biographical texts as well as a wealth of information in the wall scenes and inscriptions. The tombs provide an insight into the life and times of the province during the Middle Kingdom.

Although there is very little archaeological evidence for the settlements associated with the Oryx-nome, several tombs at Beni Hassan include inscriptions naming various towns in the region. As an example, the tomb of Khnumhotep II (Tomb No. 3) mentions the town of Menat-Khufu,[9] however the exact location of the city is presently unknown.[10] Nevertheless, the Oryx-nome appears to have been one of the richest and most economically important provinces in Upper Egypt. In a modern study of land productivity undertaken by Egyptian authorities, the capability of the cultivated land has been divided into five classes, with number one being the most productive.[11] Applying these divisions to the known borders of the ancient Egyptian provinces, it becomes clear that Class 1 dominates the area between Akhmim and Deshasha (9 U.E. to 20 U.E.). Such Class 1 land is not recorded for any other province in Upper or Lower Egypt.[12] Therefore, this region may have been the productive heartland of the country, and as a result, the richest Old Kingdom tombs in the south are found at sites such as Akhmim, Deir el-Gebrawi, Meir, Sheikh Saïd, Zawiyet el-Maiyitin, Kom el-Ahmar and Deshasha. Similarly, the largest and most extensively decorated Middle Kingdom tombs are found at Meir, El-Bersha and Beni Hassan (14 U.E. to 17 U.E.). The last site contains the burials of the elite officials of the Oryx-nome during the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties and it should be kept in mind that this province is located within the most valuable and fertile land in Egypt.

Position and Role of the Officials buried at Beni Hassan

Our knowledge of the provincial history of Egypt after the fall of the Old Kingdom, during the First Intermediate Period and leading into the early Middle Kingdom, is piecemeal at best.[13] The fate of the Old Kingdom ruling families of many provinces is not clear, nor are the reasons why new families were appointed to govern certain regions and not in others. The burial ground for elite officials in the Oryx-nome was moved from Zawiyet el-Maiyitin in the Old Kingdom to Beni Hassan in the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom. The complete absence of common personal names in the two sites may well suggest a new family line of governors at Beni Hassan. The situation at Meir for instance appears to have been different, with Old Kingdom names continuing to be carried by Middle Kingdom officials.[14] However, at Beni Hassan, Meir and other provincial centres, there seems to be a period of interruption when the local crown appointed governments may have lost control. With Egypt divided into two main camps, the Herakleopolitans and the Thebans, the survival of the provincial rulers depended on their established allegiances in the conflict.

9 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, 58, pl. 25.

10 For suggestions on the town's location see D. Kessler, 'Menat-Chufu', *LÄ* 4, 41-42; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, 18-19; Baines and Malek, *Atlas*, 14.

11 Fischer, *The Middle East*, 496ff, fig. 19.6.

12 Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 6-7, fig. 1.

13 For a general treatment of this period see B. Kemp, 'Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period c. 1686–1552 BC' in Trigger, Kemp, O'Connor and Lloyd, (eds.) *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, 71-182.

14 See the continuity of many names from the Old to the Middle Kingdoms at this site such as Wekh-hotep (Blackman, *Meir*, 6 vols., passim).

The Middle Kingdom rulers of the Oryx-nome were able to build large tombs that were fully decorated with an impressive repertoire of artistic themes, which clearly give an impression of grandeur as well as demonstrating their wealth and power. On the other hand, the display of the strength and/or achievements of their local army are unprecedented and may appear as a declaration of independence. The entire east walls in the tombs of Amenemhat (Tomb No. 2), Baqet III (Tomb No. 15) and Khety (Tomb No. 17) are occupied by this theme and are placed in a prominent position immediately opposite the entrance doorway to the tombs.[15] The east walls are divided into two sections: the upper shows many rows of wrestlers which, in such numbers, does not appear to depict wrestling as a sport, but most probably pertains to physical fitness for the soldiers as a part of their training. The lower section depicts military activities and includes the attack and siege of a fortress. The representation of these scenes gives the impression that the governors of the Oryx-nome commanded a well-sized army, which even included foreign recruits such as Nubians, Asiatics and perhaps Libyans.[16]

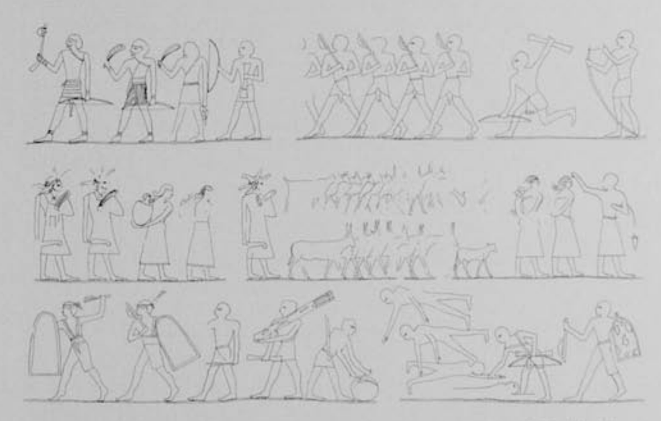


Figure 5. Foreigners in the Egyptian army in the tomb of the nomarch Khnumhotep I (Tomb No. 14) (After Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 47)

The exact location of the towns/fortresses being attacked is unknown as there are no inscriptions associated with each scene. The identity of the soldiers defending the fortresses is not clear, however it is likely that the events commemorate one of the conflicts mentioned in the biographies at Beni Hassan.[17] Although the Oryx-nome is strategically positioned between the two main

15 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 14-16; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 5, 15. See also Khnumhotep I (Tomb No. 14) (Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 47).

16 On the organization of the military see R.O. Faulkner, 'Egyptian Military Organization', *JEA* 39 (1953), 32-47; H.G. Fischer, 'The Nubian Mercenaries of Gebelein during the First Intermediate Period', *Kush* 9 (1961), 44-80.

17 See for example the autobiography of Amenemhat (Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, 25-26, pl. 8).

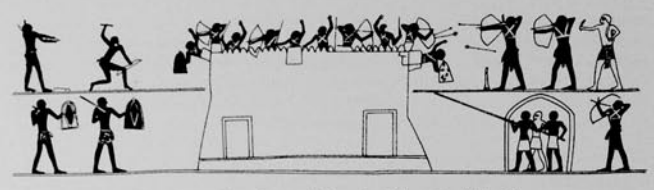


Figure 6. Attacking a fortress in the tomb of Khety (Tomb No. 17)
(After Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pl. 15)

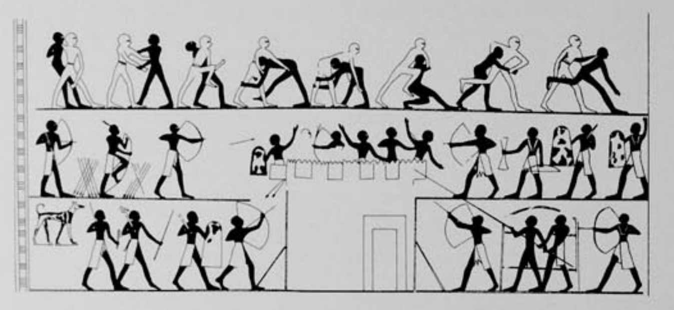


Figure 7. Attacking a fortress in the tomb of Amenemhat (Tomb No. 2)
(After Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 14)

regional powers of Herakleopolis and Thebes during the First Intermediate Period, it seems that the nobles of the Oryx-nome succeeded in remaining neutral for a period of time. With the rise of the Theban Mentuhotep II, the governor of the Oryx-nome Baqet III (Tomb No. 15) seems to have become an ally with the Thebans.[18] This proved to be a skilful move, which not only kept his family in their office following the Theban conquest late in the Eleventh Dynasty, but also enabled the province to retain its armed forces. The deliberate policy of the Eleventh Dynasty to restrict the provincial governors' power in order to bring the country under control is not apparent in the tombs at Beni Hassan, judging by the size of their tombs and the extensive decoration. This policy was however reversed by king Amenemhat I, founder of the Twelfth Dynasty, possibly in an attempt to gain the support of the different provinces following his usurpation of the throne from the Mentuhotep family. At the height of their power, the nobles of Beni Hassan played an important role in the events of the time. The nomarch and army chief Amenemhat (Tomb No. 2) recorded a number of military expeditions beyond the borders of Egypt to the south.[19] Amenemhat

[17] The chronology of the earliest tombs at Beni Hassan is debated in the literature. For proposed dating by various scholars see Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, 5-7; Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, 79-84; Kamrin, *Cosmos of Khnumhotep II*, 27-29, Table II.2; Brunner, *Ägyptischen Felsgräber bis zum Mittleren Reich*, 67-68. For comparison with the dating of the earlier tombs at El-Bersha see Willems, *Dayr al-Barshā*, 84-88, 107-113.

[18] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, 25-26, pl. 8.

(Tomb No. 2) mentions one expedition where he accompanied king Senwosret I to the land of Kush. In a second expedition he joined king Amenemhat II while the latter was still a prince regent and was accompanied by four hundred men selected from his own army. Amenemhat (Tomb No. 2) conducted a third expedition with the vizier and took with him six hundred men of the Oryx-nome. Amenemhat spoke of his own army, not that of the king or the country, showing the typical independence and power of the nomarchs at the time.

The biography of Khnumhotep II (Tomb No. 3) also provides an insight into the political situation during the early Twelfth Dynasty and describes the actions taken by king Amenemhat I.[20] Speaking of the appointment of his maternal grandfather, Khnumhotep I (Tomb No. 14), as a nomarch, Khnumhotep II says: 'Amenemhat, may he be given life, stability and dominion like Re forever. He appointed him as hereditary prince, count, overseer of the Eastern Deserts in Menat-Khufu. He established the southern boundary-stela and fixed the northern like heavens. He divided the great river along its middle; its eastern side of "the Horizon of Horus" was as far as the Eastern Desert. At the coming of his majesty he drove out wrongdoing, shining like Atum himself, he fixed that which he found ruined and that which a town had seized from its neighbour. He caused a city to know its boundary with a city, establishing their boundary-stelae like heavens, recognizing their waters according to that which was in the records and investigating according to that which was in ancient times, because he so greatly loved justice. Then he appointed him as hereditary prince, count, gracious of arm, great overlord of the Oryx-nome. He established the boundary-stelae; the southern on his boundary with the Hare-nome and the northern with the Jackal-nome. He divided the great river along its middle; its waters, its fields, its tamarisks and its sand was as far as the western deserts'.

The passage from Khnumhotep II's (Tomb No. 3) biography is quoted at length because of the important information it provides for our understanding of the early Twelfth Dynasty. King Amenemhat I usurped the throne from the Mentuhotep family and in order to justify his claim and legitimacy to the throne of Egypt, a new literary genre in the form of instructions or prophecies was introduced.[21] The well known prophecy of Neferti describes the major problems in the country prior to the accession of king Amenemhat I,[22] which states for example that the river bed is dry, the land is in turmoil, Asiatics roam the land and enemies are everywhere. Then it is claimed that a king by the name of Ameny (a short form for Amenemhat) will come to Egypt where order will return and chaos will be driven away. Such a literary genre presumably describes administrative and civil disorder that probably broke out periodically after the decline of the Old Kingdom. The biography of Khnumhotep II (Tomb No. 3) describes disputes over the boundaries of different provinces following the seizure of land.[23] The succession of a new line of kings during the early Twelfth Dynasty clearly faced some challenges and created controversy in governing specific regions,[24] but perhaps the situation was not as disastrous as the various instructions and prophecies suggest. Similar to other provinces of Upper Egypt, the officials buried at Beni Hassan continued to enjoy wealth and power until the reign of king Senwosret III,

[20] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, 56-67, pls. 25-26. For translations see Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* 1, § 619-639; A.B. Lloyd, 'The Great Inscriptions of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan' in Lloyd (ed.) *Studies in Pharaonic Religions and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths*, 21-36; G. Dantong, 'The Inscription of Khnumhotep II: A New Study', *Journal of Ancient Civilizations* 10 (1995), 54-63.

[21] Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* 1, 8-11.

[22] Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* 1, 139-44; Posener, *Littérature et politique*, 21-60, 145-157.

[23] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, 63, pl. 16. Compare with the biographies in the tombs at El-Bersha (Willems, *Dayr al-Barshā*, 88-89).

[24] Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel*, 71-82.

after which there seems to be a general reduction in the size of tombs and extent of decoration. Several scholars have suggested that king Senwosret III aimed to restrict the powers of the local rulers after they gradually transformed themselves into local dynasties.[25] The general reduction in provincial wealth and power in the latter part of the Twelfth Dynasty is also noticeable at Beni Hassan.



Figure 8. Section of Khnumhotep II's biography mentioning the appointment of his maternal grandfather (After Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 25)

Foreign Influx to Egypt

During the Middle Kingdom, the Egyptian state played a significant role in the Near East and started to affect, as well as be affected by, neighbouring cultures. Egyptian material culture has been found in many locations in the Levant just as there is evidence of foreigners residing within the borders of Egypt.[26] The gradual flow of foreigners into the country certainly affected different aspects of Egyptian life, including its art and industries and probably on the fabric of society itself.[27] During the reign of king Senwosret II, Khnumhotep II (Tomb No. 3) depicted in his tomb the arrival of a group of 37 *'3mw* 'Asiatics' led by the 'ruler of foreign land, Ibsha'.[28] The group includes women and children as well as weapons, eye paint and musical instruments, which may suggest their trip to Egypt was not intended as a temporary visit or for trade, but rather as a long term, or even permanent, stay in the country.[29]

[25] See the discussion in Posener, *Littérature et politique*, 3-7; W.C. Hayes, 'The Middle Kingdom' in *Cambridge Ancient History* I [2], 505-509; E. Brovarski, 'Ahanakht of Bersheh and the Hare Nome in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom' in Simpson and Davies, *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan*, 14-30.

[26] For a summary of the evidence available see: Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel*, 48-70. See also J.M. Weinstein, 'Egyptian Relations with Palestine in the Middle Kingdom', *BASOR* 217 (1975), 1-16; M. Bietak, 'Egypt and Canaan during the Middle Bronze Age', *BASOR* 281 (1991), 27-72; M. Wright and D. Pardee, 'Literary Sources for the History of Palestine and Syria: Contacts between Egypt and Syro-Palestine during the Old Kingdom', *The Biblical Archaeologist* 51 [3] (1988), 143-161; W.A. Ward, 'Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean from Predynastic Times to the end of the Old Kingdom', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 6 [1] (1963), 1-57; Cohen, *Canaanites, Chronologies and Connections*, passim.

[27] For an outline of the gradual influx of foreigners in the Delta region of Egypt during the Middle Kingdom and the effect on Egyptian material culture see Bietak, *Avaris*, 1-48.

[28] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pls. 30-31, 38. For a description see Kamrin, *Cosmos of Khnumhotep II*, 93-96.

[29] See also Willems, *Dayr al-Barsha*, 91. For a discussion of the issue of immigration see Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 63-82; D.B. Redford, 'Egypt and Western Asia in the Old Kingdom', *JARCE* 23 (1986), 125-143; B. Kemp, 'Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period' in Trigger, Kemp, O'Connor and Lloyd, (eds.) *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, 137-149.

By the early Twelfth Dynasty, Egypt was already accustomed to the employment of foreigners in its army. The biography of Weni dating to the Old Kingdom states that he led an army on a number of occasions on behalf of Pepy I against the *'3mw* 'the sand dwellers', presumably in Syria/Palestine.[30] This army was formed of contingents from the different provinces of Upper and Lower Egypt as well as troops from the various regions of Nubia and Libya.[31] The recruitment of Nubians in the Egyptian army became even more common during the First Intermediate Period, particularly by the Thebans who had easier access to the south.[32] Weni was raising an army for 'His Majesty' king Pepy I and the Nubian soldiers were employed in the First Intermediate Period by one of the two 'Divisions/Kingdoms' of Egypt, mostly by the Thebans. By contrast, the scene showing Khnumhotep II receiving foreigners in the province represents a complete departure from past circumstances. On the one hand, we note that Asiatic soldiers are employed in the service of a provincial governor rather than the Egyptian state.[33] While on the other, the *'3mw* 'Asiatics', who were once enemies of Egypt, are now shown fighting alongside Egyptian troops.[34]



Figure 9. The arrival of Asiatics in Egypt in the tomb of Khnumhotep II (Tomb No. 3) (After Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 31)

[30] Goedicke's argument that the war was in the north-east of the Delta seems questionable (H. Goedicke, 'The alleged military campaign in Southern Palestine in the reign of Pepi I', *RSO* 38 [1963], 187-197).

[31] See Sethe, *Urkunden* I, 101-102; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* I, 19.

[32] J. Vandier, 'Quelques stèles de soldats de la Première Période Intermédiaire', *Chronique d'Égypte* 17 [35] (1943), 21-29; H.G. Fischer, 'The Nubian Mercenaries of Gebelein during the First Intermediate Period', *Kush* 9 (1961), 44-80.

[33] Goedicke suggests that the group would have been under the control of the central government at Lisht, see H. Goedicke, 'Abi-Sha(i)'s Representation at Beni Hasan,' *JARCE* 21 (1984), 203-210.

[34] See for example register 5 on the east wall (south side) in the tomb of Amenemhat (Tomb No. 2) in Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 16.

Architecture and Art Characteristic of Beni Hassan

The number of tombs cut at Beni Hassan is surprisingly small in comparison with certain Old Kingdom provincial cemeteries. At El-Hawawish (9 U.E.) over 850 rock-cut tombs were cut into the mountain with the majority of these belonging to the Sixth Dynasty, although some date to the end of the Fifth and to the Eighth Dynasties.[35] Both the northern and southern cliffs at Deir el-Gebrawi (12 U.E.) were utilized as burial grounds for officials during the Sixth Dynasty and contain 156 rock-cut tombs.[36] The cemetery of Meir (14 U.E.) provides the best evidence for comparison as the site was used in the second half of the Sixth Dynasty, possibly during the First Intermediate Period as well as in the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties.[37] The areas used in the Old Kingdom (Cemetery A, D and E) are certainly more crowded with tombs than those areas used in the Middle Kingdom period (Cemetery B and C). The relatively small number of tombs attested at Beni Hassan is also paralleled at El-Bersha, another important Middle Kingdom cemetery with a rather limited number of main tombs at the site, with additional shafts for retainers or family members of the elite officials.[38]

Architecture

The rock-cut tombs at Beni Hassan are located on the eastern cliff with the entrances opening into the west walls of the chapels. The tombs are relatively simple in design and can be grouped into three main types:[39]

Type 1: A plain façade leads to a chapel that is almost square in shape.[40] The mouths of several shafts are accessed from the floor of the chapel and there are no columns supporting the ceiling nor is a shrine dedicated to the tomb owner.

Type 2: A small forecourt with a plain façade leads to a rectangular shaped chapel, the longest wall of which runs perpendicular to the entrance wall.[41] One variant of this type includes a shrine located in the south wall of the tomb, as seen in the tomb of Baqet III (Tomb No. 15).[42] The ceilings can be supported by one, two or even three rows of columns, which run in a parallel axis to the entrance wall.

Type 3: A large forecourt with an imposing portico supported by two columns leads to an almost square chapel.[43] The tomb includes a shrine, which opens into the east wall immediately opposite the entrance, and contains a seated statue of the tomb owner. The tombs of Amenemhat (Tomb No. 2) and Khnumhotep II (Tomb No. 3) each have two rows of two columns positioned perpendicular to the entrance wall that support a large architrave, thus dividing the chapel into three longitudinal segments with vaulted ceilings.[44] The ceilings illustrate intricate geometric decoration, which is not paralleled in the earlier tombs in the cemetery.

35 Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 10, pls. 6-9, figs. 12-21.
36 Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 1; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl.1.
37 *PM* 4, 247-258; D. Kessler, 'Meir', *LÄ* 2, 14-19.
38 Griffith and Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 2, pls. 2-3; Brovarski et. al., *Bersheh* 1, 3-9; Willems, *Dayr al-Barshā*, 1-9.
39 For an overview see Shedid, *Die Felsgräber von Beni Hassan*, 16-22. See also Brunner, *Ägyptischen Felsgräber bis zum Mittleren Reich*, 66-70.
40 See tomb Nos. 27, 29 and 33 in Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 26, 29, 34.
41 See tomb Nos. 14, 15, 17, 18 and 21 in Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 43; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 2, 9, 21, 22.
42 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pl. 2.
43 See tomb nos. 2 and 3 in Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 4, 22.
44 See sectional elevations C D in Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 4, 22.

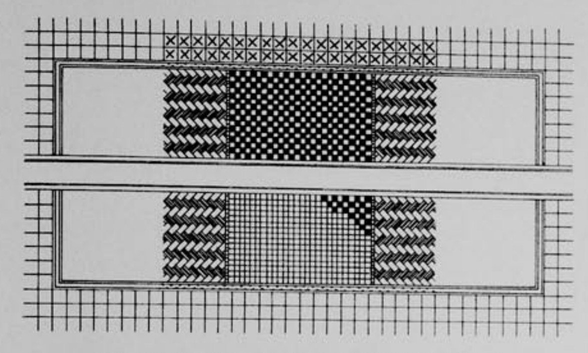


Figure 10. Ceiling decoration in the tomb of Amenemhat (Tomb No. 2)
(After Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 6)

Artistic Style and Repertoire of Scenes

The decoration of the tombs of Beni Hassan is generally attractive and elaborate.[45] The Eleventh Dynasty tombs of Baqet I (Tomb No. 29), Baqet II (Tomb No. 33) and Ramushenti (Tomb No. 27) feature prominently positioned false doors and focus on the offerings being brought to the tomb owners who are seated before offering tables.[46] Scenes of daily life are incorporated in the tomb's decorative scheme, however they are somewhat restricted to include scenes of spear-fishing and other marshland activities,[47] bull fighting,[48] animal husbandry[49] and hunting in the desert.[50] The tombs of Baqet III (Tomb No. 15) and Khety (Tomb No. 17) are of considerable size and the surface of the walls are extensively decorated with depictions of daily life in the province, which are discussed in detail in Chapter 3. The quality of the painting is of a high standard and on many occasions the artists illustrate their exceptional abilities in the rendering of the human figure such as in the depiction of the female acrobats or the varied positions of the wrestlers.

The imposing architectural appearance of the Twelfth Dynasty tombs of Amenemhat (Tomb No. 2) and Khnumhotep II (Tomb No. 3) as well as their ambitious decorative program places these two tombs in particular among the best examples known from the Middle Kingdom. The vaulted ceilings are decorated with beautiful geometrical patterns and the upper parts of the walls above the scenes show a colourful *kheker*-motif. While certain themes depicted in earlier tombs are continued, the style and quality of painting of scenes and hieroglyphs in these two Twelfth Dynasty tombs is far superior. The colourful details of the different birds, animals, hieroglyphs and the intricate motifs on the cloths of the foreign visitors are admirably rendered. Unlike the earlier tombs in the cemetery, the Twelfth Dynasty examples contain long biographical inscriptions

45 For an outline see Shedid, *Die Felsgräber von Beni Hassan*, 78-93.
46 See for example Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 30, 36; Shedid, *Die Felsgräber von Beni Hassan*, figs. 13, 130. For a list of tombs including a false door see Shedid, *Die Felsgräber von Beni Hassan*, 66-68.
47 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 29, 35
48 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 31; Shedid, *Die Felsgräber von Beni Hassan*, fig. 12.
49 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 31-32.
50 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pl. 35.

placed on the façade of the tomb or below the scenes and dado band on all four walls of the chapel, as found in the tomb of Khnumhotep II (Tomb No. 3). The superior art and architectural design found in the Twelfth Dynasty tombs at Beni Hassan may be due to the generally more prosperous economic condition of the Egyptian state in this period or possibly also due to the experience and expertise gained by the artists and architects.

The importance of the scenes and inscriptions in the tombs at Beni Hassan is not only due to their artistic value, but also to the information each conveys about the daily life in the province.[51] Egyptian officials usually recorded in their tomb scenes or inscriptions a selection of activities or events relevant to their own experience. Even in biographical texts, the authors seem to commemorate the individual role they played in the events, rather than presenting a complete description.[52] In Old Kingdom tomb decoration, elite officials depicted activities they personally supervised, which frequently agree with the range of titles they possessed in the administration. This in turn created a somewhat restricted repertoire of scenes, with a particular focus on food production and workshops. The tombs at Beni Hassan represent invaluable records of the life of the province at this period and depict the tomb owner along with many members of his family, not only shown in ritual scenes such as seated before an offering table and receiving various items of food, but also actively engaging in various games and sports.[53] Male and female figures are depicted playing different types of games, dancers and musicians are included as well as the punishment of defaulters and the activities of the different professions or crafts such as wine making or pottery manufacturing. Other activities represented in the tombs at Beni Hassan include agricultural pursuits, animal husbandry, life in the marshlands, travelling by boat on the river, desert hunts, military activities and warfare, gardening and fruit picking. Certain themes are represented more than others and not all the themes listed above are found in every tomb at Beni Hassan. The arrangement and composition of the scenes in the tombs were presumably decided upon by each individual tomb owner, together with input from the artists responsible for the decoration, making each tomb unique and a reflection of the individual tomb owner's identity.

Artisan Training and Schools during the Middle Kingdom

With the collapse of the central administration at the end of the Old Kingdom, the fragmentation of the country into smaller regions and the relative political instability during the First Intermediate Period, at least in certain parts of Upper Egypt, the need for the training and preparation of administrative personnel was drastically reduced. When the country was reunified in the Eleventh Dynasty, the government did not possess the administrative apparatus at a national level that was essential to reestablish order and power. In order to fulfill the need for an efficient bureaucracy, proper schooling was established to prepare an individual for an administrative career.[54] It was natural for the new government to turn to the region of the old capital Memphis for men who were capable of producing learning manuals for the young students, for such a region was the most likely to retain some of the old traditions.[55]

[51] For a discussion on the purpose of Egyptian art in relation to scenes of daily life see C. Aldred, 'Grabdekoration', *LÄ* 2, 856; Davis, *Canonical Tradition*, 199-201; Kanawati, *Tomb and Beyond*, 112-122; Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity*, 49-50.

[52] Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* 1, 4-5.

[53] See for example the tomb of Khnumhotep II (Tomb No. 2) where he is shown in the desert hunt and also in the marshes catching fish and birds with the traditional throw-stick as well as a clapnet (Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pls. 30, 32-34).

[54] Posener, *Littérature et politique*, 3-4.

[55] Posener, *Littérature et politique*, 6-7.

The shortage in educated bureaucratic personnel may also have been paralleled by an absence of well trained artists since, as we argued in an earlier work, the professions of scribes and painters in the Old Kingdom were related and required similar skills.[56] Although elite officials continued to build tombs during the First Intermediate Period, the unsettled political situation and possibly also the limited resources available to an official seem to have had an adverse effect on artistic style. There is a general decrease in the standard and quality of the art in terms of carved relief and also painting, at least when compared to the monuments and funerary equipment of the Old Kingdom. A study of Old Kingdom tomb decoration in the well documented sites of Akhmim, Deir el-Gebrawi, Meir and Deshasha illustrates that these tombs were either decorated by artists trained in the capital of Egypt, Memphis, or were influenced by / aware of the decoration in earlier tombs in the Memphite cemeteries.[57] By contrast, the artists working in the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period clearly demonstrated their originality and creativity both in the introduction of new themes and motifs as well as in the artistic style in relief carving or painting.[58] Local characteristics and regional styles began to appear in the provinces, which have often been seen in a negative light in the literature. The absence of certain motifs, such as the papyrus boat in a spear-fishing scene or the poor rendering of the canon of proportion, is often regarded as a mistake on the part of the artist[59] and accordingly labelled as 'provincial' and the product of artists with no skill or training.[60] An alternative interpretation is that the distance from the capital Memphis and the time that elapsed after the fall of the central Old Kingdom administration, weakened the adherence to the earlier traditions established in royal and elite models and in turn allowed the artists decorating the scenes greater freedom of expression.[61]

With the re-unification of Egypt late in the Eleventh Dynasty and the introduction of schooling, some return to the Memphite artistic traditions may be observed. The authors of new 'textbooks' for young scribes originated from Memphis or the Delta,[62] and the region was equally famous for its strong artistic traditions. Once the country was unified, it is conceivable that the young scribes/artists were able at least to visit the Memphite cemeteries, in addition to others in Upper Egypt, where they were able to use the art of the Old Kingdom temples and tombs as a basis for composition.[63] The best evidence for the new artistic training established in the Eleventh Dynasty can be found on the stela of an artist named Irtysen, who describes his skills in the following way: 'I know the secret of the hieroglyphs; the conducting of the offering-ritual; every magic, I mastered; none thereof passing me by. Moreover I am a craftsman excellent in his craft, pre-eminent on account of what he has known. I can render the step forward of the male statue, the steps of the female statue, the movement of the wings of dozens of birds, the posture of someone smiting a captive and the expression of his counterpart. I can also render the fearful

[56] Kanawati and Woods, *Artists in the Old Kingdom*, 9-20.

[57] For a discussion of this point see Harpur, *Decoration*, 21-31.

[58] For late Old Kingdom examples see the tombs at Aswan, Moalla and El-Hagarsa (Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan*, 3 vols., passim; Vandier, *Mo'alla*, passim; Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa*, 3 vols., passim.)

[59] Vandier suggests that the rare instance where the papyrus boat is absent represents negligence on the part of the artist rather than a deliberate omission. Vandier, *Manuel* 4, 719. For mistakes and the incorrect use of colour see Smith, *HESPOK*, 258, 332; Weeks, 'Art, Word, and the Egyptian World View' in Weeks (ed.), *Egyptology and the Social Sciences*, 62-63.

[60] Fischer, *Dendera*, 73, n. 297; Smith, *HESPOK*, 226-227.

[61] Smith, *HESPOK*, 214-243; R. Freed, 'Egyptian Art' in Silverman (ed.) *Ancient Egypt*, 218; D. Vischak, 'Agency in Old Kingdom Elite Tomb Programs: Traditions, Locations and Variable Meanings' in Fitzenreiter and Herb, (eds.) *Dekorierte Grabanlagen im Alten Reich*, 272-273.

[62] Posener, *Littérature et politique*, 7.

[63] For examples where square grids have been applied to Old Kingdom temple and tomb reliefs, see Kanawati and Woods, *Artists in the Old Kingdom*, 35.

face of a sacrificial victim and the posture of the arm of a hippopotamus hunter and the arrival of a runner'.[64]

Beni Hassan includes a unique representation of an artist being trained, which is positioned on the north wall of the tomb of Baqet III (Tomb No. 15).[65] Three activities take place in the scene and are as follows: to the right stands a man labelled as 'sculptor' using a chisel and a mallet to shape a wooden statue; the middle activity shows a painter holding a brush in one hand and a container with the colour in the other, painting the fine details of a second statue; whereas the two figures to the left are kneeling opposite each other with a board between them.[66] The man labelled as 'scribe' to the right of the board is shown to be painting a calf with a brush on the board while holding a colour container in his other hand. To the left, his counterpart is using a brush to paint a dog attacking a gazelle, which is a motif frequently represented in the tombs at Beni Hassan and indeed even in the Old Kingdom. Incidentally, such a depiction reminds us of the pride Irtysen felt for his ability to depict animals and the natural world with such incredible accuracy.[67]

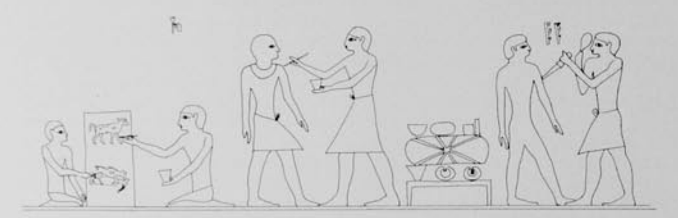


Figure 11. Artist's atelier and training in the tomb Baqet III (Tomb No. 15)
(After Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pl. 4)

The above scene seems to refer to an artist's training and is similar to the wooden board coated with a thin layer of plaster used as a master drawing for king Thutmosis III[68] or the limestone ostraca used as possible painters' sketches or students' practice books dating to the New Kingdom.[69] Furthermore, the two men are of different sizes, the one to the right being appreciably bigger, perhaps representing a teacher and a student. Whether the size in this case is an indication of their relative status or age is uncertain, but it is interesting that the larger figure is labelled as *sš* 'scribe/painter' and emphasises the close association of the scribal and painting professions. The choice of the animals as a theme for artist training may not be coincidental, since animals are prominently depicted in the tombs of Beni Hassan and possibly also considered to be extremely difficult to render accurately. Curiously, the motif the trainee artist is practising of a hunting dog

[64] M. Baud, 'Le métier d'Iritisen', *Chronique d'Égypte* 25 (1938), 21-34; A. Badawy, 'The Stela of Irtysen', *Chronique d'Égypte* 36 (1961), 269-276.

[65] See register 5 in Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pl. 4.

[66] For a close-up of the scene see Photos 130-131 in the *Photographs* section. This scene has been studied by M. Lashien, 'Artists' Training in the Old and Middle Kingdoms', *GM* (2010), forthcoming. We thank Ms. Lashien for making this information available.

[67] A. Badawy, 'The Stela of Irtysen', *Chronique d'Égypte* 36 (1961), 272.

[68] Peck, *Egyptian Drawings*, 104 [32] (EA 5601).

[69] See for example, Peck, *Egyptian Drawings*, 77 [4], 82, [7-8], 103 [30], 115 [46], 164-165 [96-97].

biting the neck of a gazelle with the victim lying on its back, does not appear in the desert hunt scene in the same tomb. Rather, a lion is depicted biting the muzzle of a gazelle that is lying in a similar position.[70] A dog attacking small desert ungulates is a motif frequently encountered in Old Kingdom tomb scenes,[71] which continued in the Middle Kingdom tombs at Meir, Thebes, and Beni Hassan.[72] In the latter site, it is present in the tombs of Baqet I (Tomb No. 29) and Khety (Tomb No. 17),[73] which are near the tomb of Baqet III (Tomb No. 15) in the upper terrace.[74] Although the chronology of the Eleventh Dynasty governors of the Oryx-nome is uncertain, it may be possible that the motif the trainee artist is shown practising in the chapel of Baqet III (Tomb No. 15) was copied from one of the earlier tombs at Beni Hassan.

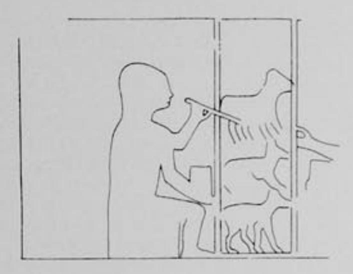


Figure 12. Artists in training: The tomb of Nyankhpepy at Zawiyet el-Maiyitin
(After Varille, *Ni-ankh-Pepi*, pls. 10-11)

Despite the fact that a large portion of the evidence preserved from ancient Egypt is found in the magnificent works of art in temples and tombs, the representation of artists training is seldom found in Egyptian tomb scenes. One notable example is curiously encountered in the Sixth Dynasty tomb of Niankhpepy at Zawiyet el-Maiyitin, a site located within the Oryx-nome to the north of Beni Hassan.[75] The cemetery of Zawiyet el-Maiyitin was the burial ground for the elite officials serving in the province during the Old Kingdom and in this scene, two men sit on low stools on either side of a flat board. The figure on the left holds a brush in one hand and a colour container in the other and is painting an animal on the board. The figure on the right, which is mostly damaged, appears to be also holding a container in one hand and perhaps a brush in the other – although this detail is now missing.[76] As with the motif in the tomb of Baqet III (Tomb No. 15), the most likely interpretation of the scene is that one individual is training the other in

[70] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pl. 4.

[71] See for example Duell, *Mereruka* 1, pl. 25; Davies, *Ptahhetep* 1, pl. 21; Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 8, pls. 13-14; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and His Family* 1, pl. 46.

[72] See for example the Middle Kingdom tombs of Senbi (B1) (Blackman, *Meir* 1, pls. 6, 8) and Wekhhotep (B2) at Meir (Blackman, *Meir* 2, pl. 8), Djehutynakht at El-Bersha (Willems, *Dayr al-Barshā*, pl. 46) as well as Ini-itef and Antefoker at Thebes (Jaroš-Deckert, *Asasif* 5, pl. 21; Davies, *Antefoker*, pl. 6).

[73] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 14, 29.

[74] See the plan of the cemetery in figure 1 above after Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 2

[75] *PM* 4, 134-139.

[76] Varille, *Ni-ankh-Pepi*, pls. 10-11.

painting and it is interesting that the subject matter at Zawiyet el-Maiyitin also focuses on animals and shows three registers of animals, presumably of different species.[77] The rare depiction of an artist training in a tomb's decoration and the great similarity between the depictions at Zawiyet el-Maiyitin and Beni Hassan may well suggest that the artist responsible for the decoration of the tomb of Baqet III (Tomb No. 15) at Beni Hassan was aware of the Old Kingdom representation of the same motif in the tomb of Nyankhpepy at Zawiyet el-Maiyitin.[78]

The officials buried in the upper terrace at Beni Hassan who administered the Oryx-nome were the elite of society. The scenes and inscriptions in their tombs provide a significant insight into the role the provincial administrators played during the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties. The scenes also illustrate the various professions and even the methods of entertainment practised by the inhabitants of the province. The following chapter will present an overview of the evidence from the four selected tombs that are the subject of this study, namely those of Amenemhat (Tomb No. 2); Khnumhotep II (Tomb No. 3); Baqet III (Tomb No. 15) and Khety (Tomb No. 17). Chapter 3 will outline the varied themes included in the decoration of these selected tombs and highlight the different aspects of the daily life of the people residing in the province.

77 See M. Lashien, 'Artists' Training in the Old and Middle Kingdoms', *GM* (2010), forthcoming.
78 In fact other similarities exist between the tomb of Niankhpepy, although very fragmentary, and those at Beni Hassan, as for instance in the details and importance given to grape picking and wine manufacture. Varille, *Ni-ankh-Pepi*, pl. 15.

Chapter 2

Overview Of Selected Tombs

1. THE TOMB OF AMENEMHAT (Tomb No. 2)

Tomb Owner

Although the tombs of Amenemhat and Khnumhotep II are not the largest on the cliff, they are the most elaborately decorated and provide significant information about the nature of provincial governorship in the Twelfth Dynasty. The two tombs are placed next to each other and exhibit similarities in architectural design and artistic composition, with that of Amenemhat being slightly larger in size.

Amenemhat held the titles of 'hereditary prince', 'count', 'sole companion', 'great overlord of the Oryx-nome', 'overseer of the great army of the Oryx-nome' and 'overseer of priests' (of Khnum, Lord of Her-wer) as well as many other religious offices.[1] His biographical inscriptions emphasise his military achievements under king Senwosret I, when Amenemhat II was still the crown prince.[2] The family background of Amenemhat is uncertain.[3] Very little is known about his father, other than the fact that he held the offices of 'count' and 'overseer of the great army of the Oryx-nome'. Amenemhat's mother, Henu, was the daughter of a count and held just the one title of 'lady of the house'. His wife was named Hetepet and was also the daughter of a count and held a few religious positions in the cults of local deities. The honourific titles held by Amenemhat and other members of his household, as well as the date provided in his biographical inscription, suggest he belonged to the main nobility of the Oryx-nome. However, neither his mother nor his wife show any direct link with the then ruling Khnumhotep family, although Amenemhat's own eldest son was called Khnumhotep and held the title of 'overseer of the army'.

In his biography, Amenemhat states he was appointed by king Senwosret I as 'great overlord of the Oryx-nome' and 'overseer of the great army of the Oryx-nome'[4] and indicates that he took over the responsibility for the army from his aged father. As mentioned above, there is little information about Amenemhat's father, however the biography of Khnumhotep II may provide some important information. Khnumhotep II states that king Senwosret I appointed the eldest son of his grandfather Khnumhotep I, Nakht, to his inheritance at Menat-Khufu but not to the office of 'great overlord of the Oryx-nome', which Khnumhotep I occupied himself and then subsequently passed on to Amenemhat. Unfortunately the tomb of Khnumhotep I is rather poorly preserved, yet it may be possible to suggest that Amenemhat was a son by a lesser wife or a younger brother of Khnumhotep I.[5]

1 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, 11-13.
2 See Chapter 1 and Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, 122; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, 23-27, pl. 8.
3 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, 13-14.
4 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 8. For a study of the family relationships in the province see Helck, *Gaue*, 106-116.
5 By contrast, Newberry suggests that Amenemhat's father may have been Khety (Tomb No. 17), see Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, 6-7.

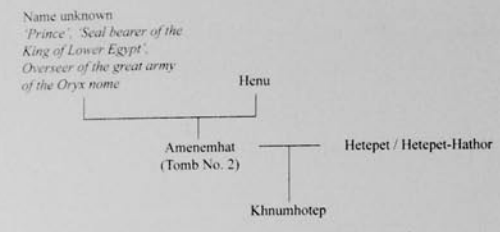


Figure 13. Family tree of Amenemhat

Amenemhat most probably cut and decorated his tomb before Khnumhotep II and states at the beginning of his biography that construction of his tomb took place in year 43 of the reign of king Senwosret I.[6] Amenemhat may have continued to live under kings Amenemhat II and Senwosret II and, since Khnumhotep II was appointed by king Amenemhat II to the inheritance of Menat-Khufu upon the death of his father Nakht, it would seem that Amenemhat may have held office alongside Khnumhotep II in the province.

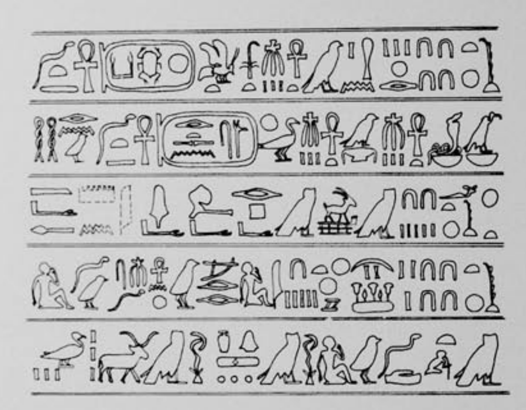


Figure 14. A section of Amenemhat's biography dating the construction of his tomb (After Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 8)

6 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, 24-27, pl. 8.

Architectural Features

The façade of the tomb is extremely imposing and an open court, measuring 10.20m. long x 8.30m. wide, was cut in front of the tomb, which leads to a pillared portico.[7] The roof of the portico is supported by two octagonal pillars placed on large circular bases that are surmounted by a square abacus and carry an architrave. The ceiling of the portico has a segmental barrel form, with its arch springing from the architrave to the façade wall.[8] The portico measures 8.50m. wide x 2.13m. deep x 7.00m. at its highest point. The entrance doorway, measuring 1.82m. wide, is positioned in the centre of the façade wall, which leads to the chapel. The lintel, jambs and thicknesses of this door are inscribed in incised relief and feature the biography of Amenemhat.[9] The chapel is formed of a main room and a shrine carved into the mountain. The main room is almost exactly square with each wall measuring approximately 11.58m. The roof is supported by two rows of two columns each, which divide the main room into three aisles of nearly equal width and run perpendicular to the entrance wall. The columns support a plain architrave and the shafts of the 16-sided columns rest on circular bases. The roof consists of three barrel vaults, 6.60m. at their highest point, and give the room a sense of depth.[10] A door, 1.30m. wide, opens into the east wall of the main room and gives access to a small shrine, 2.70m. wide x 2.12m. deep x 3.04m. high. The shrine contains a large seated statue of the tomb owner, flanked by two smaller standing figures and all cut into the native rock, which are now badly damaged.

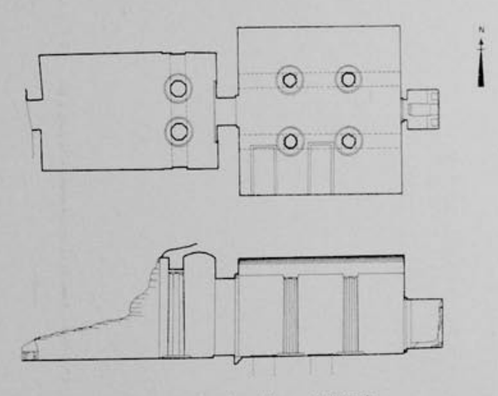


Figure 15. Plan and section of Amenemhat's tomb (After Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 4)

7 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, 20, pl. 4. The architectural drawings published by Newberry have proven to be reliable, however all measurements were checked and slight variations to the measurements are provided in the descriptions throughout the chapter.

8 See the longitudinal Section A B in Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 4.

9 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 7-9.

10 See the sectional elevation C D in Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 4.

Decorative Program

The lintel, jambs and thicknesses of the entrance to the main room are painted light red and splashed with black, dark red and green paint to imitate red granite. The inscriptions on the lintel and jambs give the name and titles of Amenemhat, while those on the thicknesses record his biography.[11] All the inscriptions are executed in good incised relief with the hieroglyphic signs coloured green. The scenes and accompanying inscriptions in the chapel are in paint over a thin layer of gypsum plaster.

Each of the three segmental vaults forming the ceiling of the main room are beautifully decorated with a repetitive geometrical pattern, formed of small red and yellow squares containing either black or blue quatrefoils (See figure 10 in Chapter 1). A wooden beam is painted as if running longitudinally down the centre of each vault and coloured yellow with wood grain detail in red paint.[12] The top part of each wall is decorated with a colourful *kheker*-motif, while the scenes are framed by a banded frieze. The corners between the walls are decorated with an ovoid-chain border and a dado band is included below the wall scenes.[13] The style of painting varies on the different walls, with the best quality being on the south wall showing the offering table scenes of the tomb owner and his wife. Both figures and hieroglyphs on the south wall are painted with excellent attention to detail, while the decoration on the remaining walls is less carefully executed.

West Wall – Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, 30-31, pls. 11-12.

The scenes on the west wall are divided into registers, which are interrupted by the opening of the entrance doorway in the centre.

To the south of the entrance, below a line of text giving the titles and name of Amenemhat, are eight registers containing the following themes:[14] 1) Vintage scene: Gathering grapes, treading, pressing and recording the harvest. 2) Vintage scene: Filling wine jars under the supervision of a scribe; grazing goats. 3-4) Fishing with a dragnet; fowling with a clapnet; gutting fish, all of which are viewed by the tomb owner and his wife from a papyrus boat. 5) Handling and preparing fruit and vegetables, meat, bread and beer. 6) Attendants carrying various personal items such as chests of linen and mirrors (left); bread making (right). 7) Musicians (left); beer making (right). 8) Musicians (left); animals fording a stream (right). The centre of the wall is occupied by a false door, dividing registers 6 to 8 into two parts and extending below the dado. The door is brightly painted with the leaves of the cavetto cornice alternating light blue, yellow, light green and red. The inscriptions feature the offering formulae to the king, Osiris and Anubis, and the panel represents the tomb owner and his wife seated opposite each other before an offering table laden with loaves of bread.

To the north of the entrance, below a line of text giving the invocation offering formula, the wall is divided into seven registers depicting the following themes: 1) Crafts and industries: Manufacturing of flint knives and sandal makers. 2) Crafts and industries: Manufacturing of bows, arrows, baskets, stone vessels and wooden furniture. 3) Crafts and industries: Goldsmiths including smelting and weighing the raw metal under the supervision of an overseer and a scribe.

[11] Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, 121-22; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, 23-29, pls. 7-9.
[12] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, 20, 29-30, pl. 6.
[13] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, 30.
[14] The description of registers by theme will be presented from left to right and from the top to bottom of each wall.

4) Crafts and industries: Pottery making using a low wheel and stacking the items for firing in a kiln. 5) Gardening; fullers. 6) Agricultural pursuits: Harvesting flax and barley; threshing grain. 7) Agricultural pursuits: Ploughing; preparation of land; sowing seeds.

North Wall – Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, 31-32, pl. 13.

Beneath a line of text identifying the name and titles of Amenemhat, the wall is divided into six registers; the top two of which extend the full length of the wall. The activities in the lower four registers are viewed by the tomb owner who occupies the right section of the wall. The depicted activities are as follows: 1) Desert hunt using bows and arrows and hunting dogs within an enclosed/fenced area. 2) Transportation of a statue of the tomb owner in a shrine; accompanied by priests, musicians, dancers and men carrying funerary objects. 3-5) Officials and retainers of the tomb owner bringing food items, live animals and birds to be viewed by Amenemhat. 6) Divided into two sub-registers: Granaries, donkeys, goats, and rendering of accounts before seated scribes. A large figure of Amenemhat is shown to the right of the wall and is accompanied by five attendants and two dogs.

East Wall – Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, 32-33, pls. 14-16.

Below a line of text giving the name and titles of Amenemhat and an invocation offering formula, the wall is divided into six registers. The scenes are interrupted by the entrance doorway to the shrine, but the same themes continue on both sides of the door. The themes are: 1-3) 59 pairs of men wrestling. 4-5) Military activities: Attacking a fortress and soldiers fighting. 6) Pilgrimage voyage: Features the two cult centres of Osiris. On the North side two sailing ships tow a funerary boat carrying a coffin under a canopy to Abydos; on the South side two ships with their sails down tow a boat carrying women to Busiris.

South Wall – Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, 33-34, pls. 17-18.

The wall surface is divided into two sections with the left and largest section belonging to Amenemhat, while the right section belongs to his wife, Hetepet. The two sections are similarly arranged; Amenemhat and Hetepet are seated at offering tables laden with loaves of bread and with items of food and drink on top and at the other side of the table. In each scene the upper part of the wall is occupied by inscriptions identifying the seated person as well as by an offering list, with that of Amenemhat being much more extensive. The wall surface opposite each figure is divided into six registers: 1-2) Priests performing ceremonies. 3-5) Offering bearers bringing items of food and drink and leading live animals. 6) Slaughtering of animals.

Shrine – Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, 34-37, pls. 19-20.

The scenes and inscriptions in the shrine are poorly preserved, however the ceiling is decorated with the same highly elaborate patterns as in the main chapel, but in smaller dimensions. The east wall is occupied by a large seated statue of Amenemhat and is flanked by two smaller standing figures of his wife and his mother, all of which are badly damaged. The north and south walls are similarly decorated with offering tables and an offering list. The walls contain four registers with themes as follows: 1) Priests performing ceremonies. 2-4) Offering bearers.

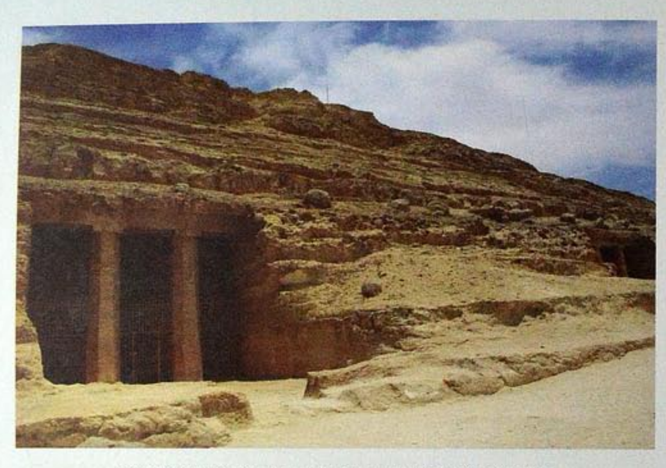


Figure 16. External view of the tomb of Amenemhat (Tomb No. 2) with the entrance to the tomb of Khnumhotep II (Tomb No. 3), looking south

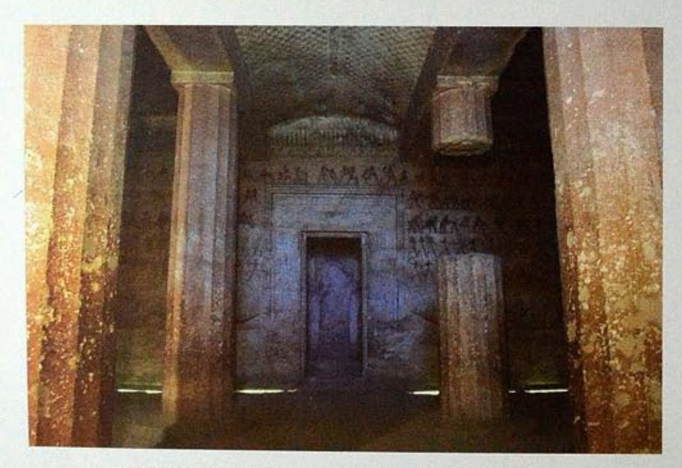


Figure 17. General view of the tomb of Amenemhat (Tomb No. 2), looking east

Figure 18. View of the portico of Amenemhat (Tomb No. 2) showing the inscriptions

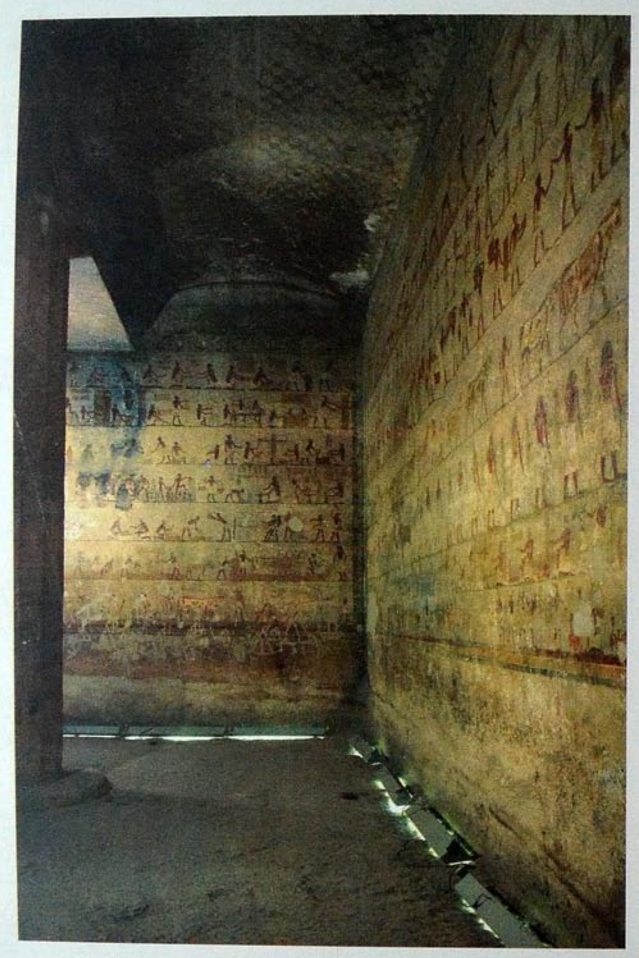


Figure 19. West wall (north of the doorway) of the tomb of Amenemhat (Tomb No. 2)

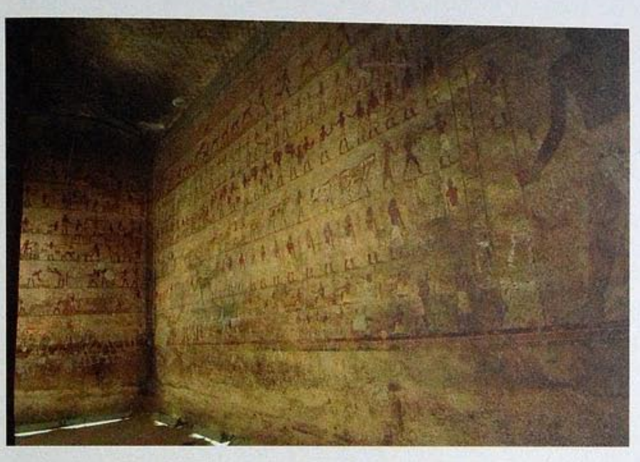


Figure 20. North west corner of the tomb of Amenemhat (Tomb No. 2)

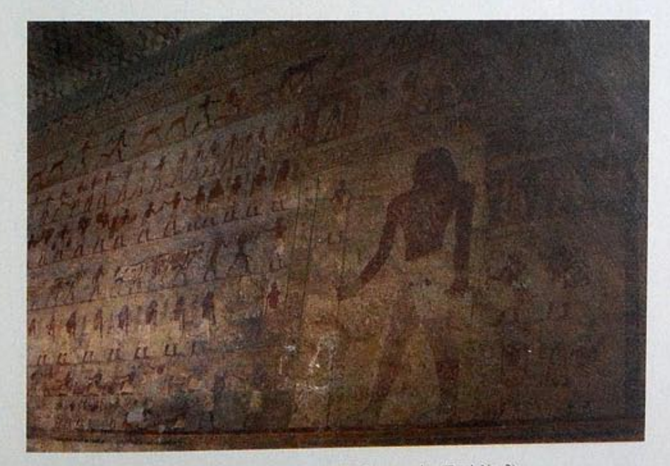


Figure 21. North wall of the tomb of Amenemhat (Tomb No. 2)

Figure 22. East wall (north of the shrine) of the tomb of Amenemhat (Tomb No. 2)

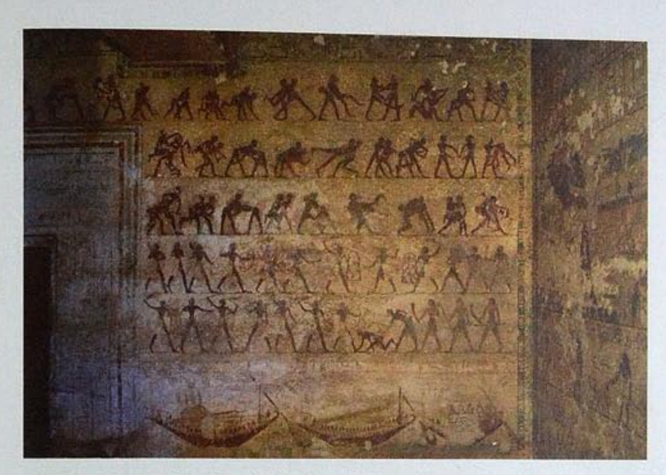


Figure 23. East wall (south of the shrine) of the tomb of Amenemhat (Tomb No. 2)

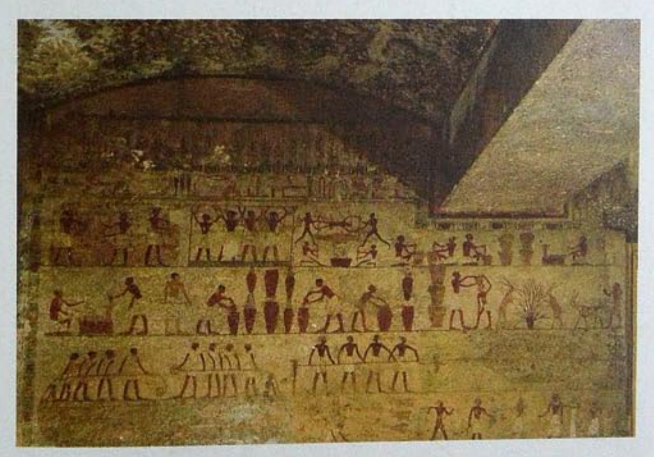


Figure 24. Upper section of the west wall (south of the entrance) of the tomb of Amenemhat (Tomb No. 2)

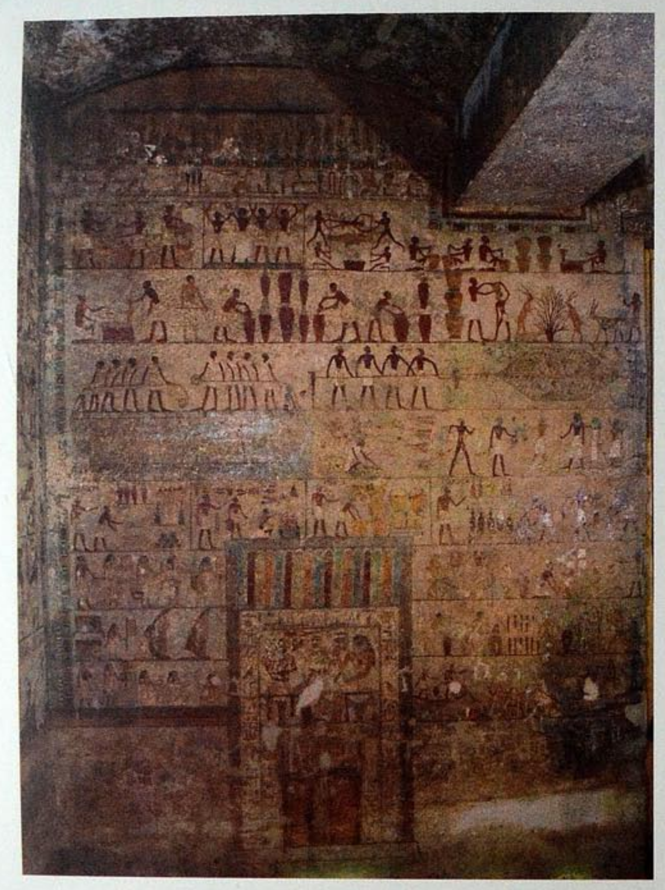


Figure 25. West wall (south of entrance) of the tomb of Amenemhat (Tomb No. 2)

2. THE TOMB OF KHNUMHOTEP II (Tomb No. 3)

Tomb Owner

Khnumhotep II owns one of the best preserved and most elaborately decorated tombs at Beni Hassan. Despite his noble ancestry, Khnumhotep II is the only official among the four selected tomb owners who did not hold the office of 'great overlord of the Oryx-nome'. Khnumhotep II held the titles of 'hereditary prince', 'count', 'count of the town of Menat-Khufu' (an important principality near Beni Hassan), 'overseer of the Eastern Desert', 'overseer of priests' as well as priesthoods in a number of temples dedicated to deities such as Horus, Anubis and the lioness goddess Pakheth.[15]

The inscriptions in the tombs of Beni Hassan provide very useful information on the genealogy of the ruling family and show that the governors of the Hare-nome (15 U.E.) the Oryx-nome (16 U.E.) and the Jackal-nome (17 U.E.) were closely related by marriage.[16] Accordingly the family must have represented a formidable force in this economically important region of Egypt. Khnumhotep II's maternal grandfather named Khnumhotep I was appointed at the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty by king Amenemhat I as 'hereditary prince', 'count', and 'overseer of the Eastern Deserts in Menat-Khufu'.[17] Khnumhotep I was presumably later appointed as 'great overlord of the Oryx-nome' and excavated his tomb at Beni Hassan (Tomb No. 14).[18] Khnumhotep I had two children with his wife Sat-ip: his eldest son, Nakht (Tomb No. 21), was appointed by king Senwosret I to the inheritance in Menat-Khufu,[19] while his daughter, Baqet, as 'hereditary princess' and 'countess' was sent to the neighbouring Hare-nome (15 U.E.) to be the wife of a noble named Neheri.[20]

In his biography, Khnumhotep II states he was the son of Baqet and Neheri and was brought back to the Oryx-nome (16 U.E.) by king Amenemhat II in year 19 to the inheritance of the father of his mother (i.e. Khnumhotep I) at Menat-Khufu. It is interesting that Khnumhotep II was 'overseer of the Eastern Deserts' and 'count' in Menat-Khufu, but never became the 'great overlord of the province' after his maternal grandfather (Khnumhotep I). Scenes of warfare and army training are absent in Khnumhotep II's chapel, which may be explained by the fact that the army was under the direct control of the nomarch himself. Khnumhotep II had two wives, clearly the more important of whom was Khety based on her prominence in the tomb decoration and was a daughter of the ruler of the Jackal-nome to the north (17 U.E.). The eldest son of this marriage, Nakht, was first appointed by king Senwosret I at Menat-Khufu, and then was moved by king Senwosret II into the inheritance of his maternal grandfather, as ruler of the Jackal-nome (17 U.E.).[21] Thus the ruling family of the Oryx-nome had a marriage alliance with both the Hare (15 U.E.) and the Jackal-nomes (17 U.E.), to the south and the north of their own province.

---

15 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, 41-42.
16 For a study of these nomes see Helck, *Gaue*, 106-116.
17 See the biography of Khnumhotep II (Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, 58-59, pl.25).
18 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, 81-85, pls. 42-47.
19 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, 26, pls. 22, 22A.
20 Griffith and Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 2, 15, 29, pl. 11 (Tomb 4).
21 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, 62-63.

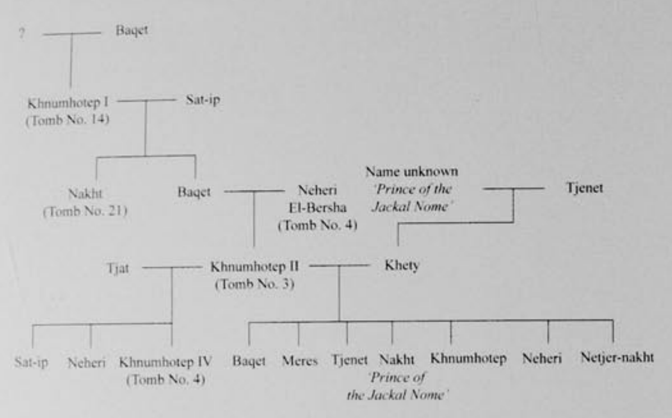


Figure 26. Family tree of Khnumhotep II

The biography of Khnumhotep II provides some useful information on the country's situation in the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty.[22] The author claims that he established his tomb as his monument that he might perpetuate his name forever, but also that he might honour the names of his dignitaries and household, whom he raised over his serfs in accordance with their positions. Khnumhotep II, and other tomb owners at Beni Hassan, certainly represented a large number of officials and recorded in their tombs inscriptions related to members of their families and retainers. Therefore, the tombs at Beni Hassan do not only present important information regarding the lives and families of their owners, but also provide an interesting insight into the concept of inheritance during the Middle Kingdom.

Khnumhotep II was almost certainly born and raised at the Hare-nome (15 U.E.), since his mother married Neheri a prince of this province. However, he still succeeded his maternal grandfather, Khnumhotep I, and received his inheritance of Menat-Khufu in the Oryx-nome. Similarly, Khnumhotep II's eldest son, Nakht, who was most probably born and raised in the Oryx-nome, was appointed to the inheritance of his maternal grandfather as a ruler of the Jackal-nome (17 U.E.). In both cases it seems clear that the inheritance passed through the maternal line of the family from father to daughter and in turn from mother to son, indicating that a son's right to his inheritance was honoured even though he was born and raised in a different province. In contrast to earlier periods, women in the Middle Kingdom appear to have acquired more rights and certainly held the same honorific titles men enjoyed. For example, Baqet, the wife of Khnumhotep I, was a 'hereditary princess' and 'countess',[23] while Khnumhotep II's wife, Khety,

[22] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, 56-67, pls. 25-26. For translations see Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* 1, § 619-639; A.B. Lloyd, 'The Great Inscriptions of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan' in Lloyd (ed.) *Studies in Pharaonic Religions and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths*, 21-36; G. Dantong, 'The Inscription of Khnumhotep II: A New Study', *Journal of Ancient Civilizations* 10 (1995), 54-63.

[23] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, 42, 82.

also held the rank of 'countess'.[24] Khnumhotep II's biography indicates that the appointment of officials to high positions or ranks was by the favour of the king, yet at the same time clearly describes such appointments as being an 'inheritance'. One wonders if the king had the means to interfere in such 'inheritance', or if his role was merely to confirm the appointment.

Architectural Features

The façade of the tomb is cut into the face of the cliff and, alongside the tomb of Amenemhat (Tomb No. 2), presents a most imposing image on approach to this part of the cemetery.[25] In front of the tomb is an open court, 9.30m. long x 7.35m. wide, which leads to a portico. The roof is supported by two polygonal columns that stand on large circular bases raised slightly above floor level, which are surmounted by a square abacus. The columns carry an architrave, which supports a curved ceiling in the form of a segmental barrel vault that runs parallel to the entrance wall. The portico is 7.19m. wide x 2.13m. deep and 5.40m. at its highest point.

A doorway in the centre of the façade measures 1.43m. wide and leads to the main chapel. The door lintel, jambs and thicknesses are inscribed with incised hieroglyphs. The chapel is formed of a main room and a shrine. The former is nearly square, being 9.76m. N-S x 9.60m. E-W x 5.90m. high. The roof is supported by two rows of two columns, which run perpendicular to the entrance wall and divide the chapel into three aisles of nearly equal width. Only a fragment of one polygonal 16-sided column was found and traces on the floor of the chapel indicate that the columns rested on round bases. The columns supported architraves, from which spring three barrel vaults above the aisles.[26]

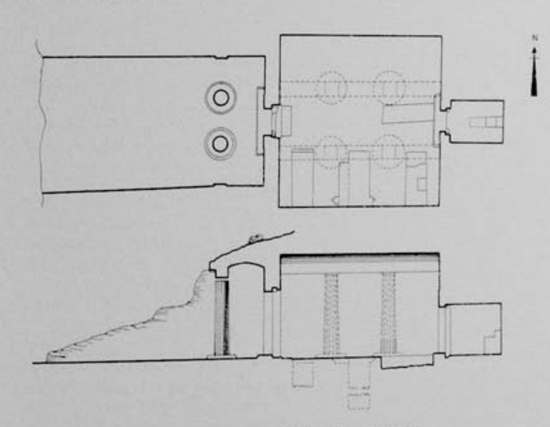


Figure 27. Plan and section of Khnumhotep II's tomb
(After Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 22)

[24] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, 43.

[25] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, 52-53, pl. 22.

[26] See sectional elevation C D in Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 22.

A door opens into the eastern wall of the main room, measuring 1.12m. wide, and leads to a small rectangular shrine 3.90m. long x 2.35m. wide x 2.95m. high. The entrance to the shrine originally had double doors opening inwards and the frame surrounding the entrance door is inscribed with incised hieroglyphs. The shrine housed a rock-cut seated statue of the tomb owner, but only a portion of the seat now remains.

Decorative Program

The inscriptions surrounding the doorway to the chapel and shrine as well as the biographical text of 222 vertical lines beneath the scenes on the four walls of the main room are all carved in beautifully rendered sunk relief and painted green.[27] The doorway lintel and the dado have been coloured red, with darker red, black and green spots to emulate granite. These inscriptions give the traditional offering formulae, mention the king, Osiris and Anubis and request invocation offerings by the visitors during various festivals.

The scenes and accompanying inscriptions in the chapel are executed in paint over a thin layer of gypsum plaster. As with the tomb of Amenemhat (Tomb No. 2), the ceiling is decorated with geometrical patterns consisting of red and yellow squares with black and blue quatrefoils (see figure 33). The top part of each wall is decorated with a colourful *kheker*-motif and the scenes are framed by a banded frieze. The corners between the walls are decorated with an ovoid-chain border and a dado band is included below the wall scenes.[28] The quality of the painting in the chapel is of a high standard and suggests that the artists responsible for the decoration were well trained and talented. The major and minor figures as well as the hieroglyphs are painted with excellent attention to detail and even show fine shading on the animals.

West Wall – Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, 68, pl. 29; Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, 126-27.

The scenes on the west wall are divided into registers interrupted by the doorway opening in the centre. Above the entrance is a depiction of the transportation of the tomb owner's statue in a shrine to his tomb. To the south of the door are five registers containing the following themes: 1) Crafts and industries: Fullers and carpenters, watched by Khnumhotep II himself followed by men carrying wooden objects. 2) Crafts and industries: Potters, tree-fellers and boat-builders, watched by Khnumhotep II who is carried in a palanquin. 3) The tomb owner and his household returning from a voyage to Abydos. 4) Manufacturing of bread and beer; spinners and weavers. 5) Shrine-builders, sculptors and scribes. To the north of the door are six registers showing the following themes: 1) Agricultural pursuits: Measuring, recording and storage of wheat in granaries. 2) Agricultural pursuits: Harvesting flax and barley; threshing grain. 3) Agricultural pursuits: Ploughing and preparation of land. 4) Forward voyage to Abydos to perform ceremonies with the coffin aboard the boat. 5) Fruit picking and gardening. 6) Cattle fording a stream and fishing.

North Wall – Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, 69, pls. 30-31; Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, 131-33.

The wall is divided into six registers; the top three of which almost extend the full width of the wall. The activities in three of the lower registers are viewed by the tomb owner who occupies the right section of the wall, above whom are six columns of inscriptions. The depicted activities are as follows: 1-2) Khnumhotep II as a major figure accompanied by several sons and attendants hunting wild animals in the desert with bows and arrows as well as hunting dogs. 3) Foreigners including men, women and children, led by the 'ruler of the foreign land, Ibsha'. 4) Fowlers; men

[27] Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, 123-25; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, 53, 55, 56, pls. 24-26, 33.
[28] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, 67.

carrying birds or leading cattle; Khnumhotep II's household and officials. 5) Animal husbandry: Oryx, goats, cattle; bull fighting; Khnumhotep II's household and officials. 6) Animal husbandry: Goats, donkeys, cattle; rendering accounts and scribes recording quantities of herds. A standing large figure of Khnumhotep II is shown to the right of the wall and is accompanied by a son, an attendant and three dogs.

East Wall – Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, 70, pls. 32-34; Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, 130.

The scenes on this wall can be divided into three panels: 1) to the north of the entrance doorway to the shrine; 2) above the doorway and 3) to the south of the doorway.

1) Below one line of text as well as nine columns of hieroglyphs listing the name and titles of the tomb owner, Khnumhotep II is fowling with a throw-stick in the marshes, accompanied by attendants in addition to his wife and daughter. The register below shows men fishing with a dragnet. 2) Beneath a line of text Khnumhotep II is catching birds using a clapnet, pulling on the rope attached to the net while seated behind a screen. 3) Below one line of text as well as nine columns of hieroglyphs listing the name and titles of the tomb owner, Khnumhotep II is spearing fish in the marshlands, accompanied by his son and an attendant. The register below shows returning boatmen.

South Wall – Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, 71, pl. 35; Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, 128-129.

The upper part of the wall is divided into two sections with the left and largest belonging to Khnumhotep II, while the upper right section belongs to his wife, Khety. The two parts are similarly arranged with each figure seated at an offering table laden with loaves of bread. Above Khnumhotep II is an offering list and five registers containing the following themes: 1-2) Priests performing rituals, members of Khnumhotep II's family and retainers bringing food items. 3) Offering bearers. 4) Procession of cattle and desert ungulates; offering bearers bringing food and drink. 5) Priests performing rituals; slaughtering of animals. The seated figure of Khnumhotep II's wife, Khety, is surrounded by her sons and daughters.

Shrine – Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, 71-72, pls. 36-37; Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, 128-29.

The scenes and inscriptions in the shrine are in a poor state of preservation. The east wall is occupied by the tomb owner's seated statue and is flanked by two smaller standing engaged statues of his wife and mother, all of which are in a very poor state of preservation. The lower part of the north and south walls are decorated with an elaborate and brightly coloured palace façade motif. The upper part of the north wall is inscribed with an offering formula, a short offering list and an offering table with items of food and drink, followed by three of Khnumhotep II's daughters facing his statue. The south wall shows the offering formula, below which are five sons and three retainers all facing Khnumhotep II's seated statue.

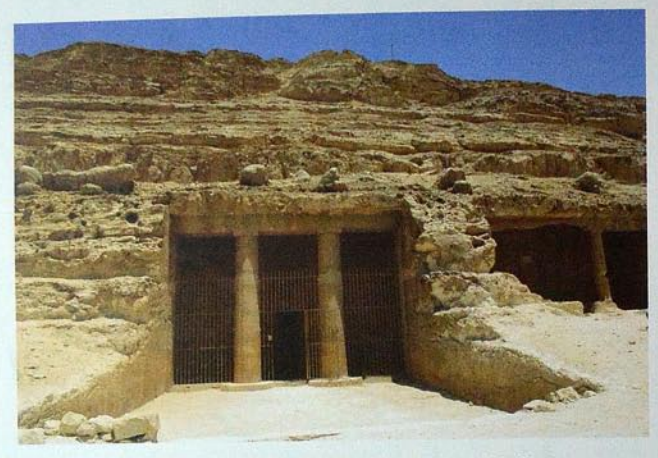


Figure 28. External view of the tomb of Khnumhotep II (Tomb No. 3)

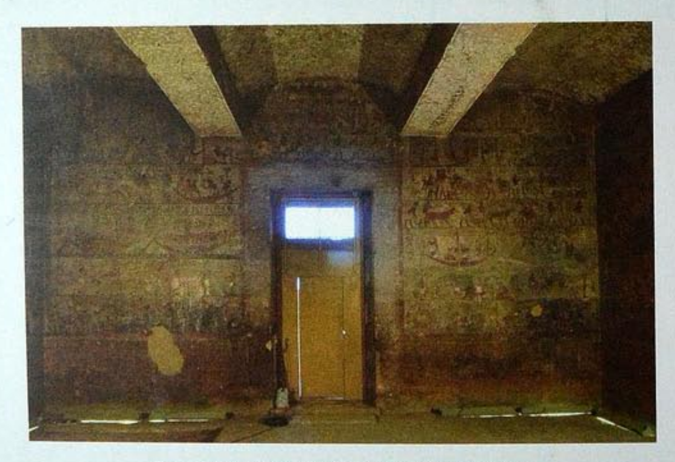


Figure 29. West wall of the tomb of Khnumhotep II (Tomb No. 3)

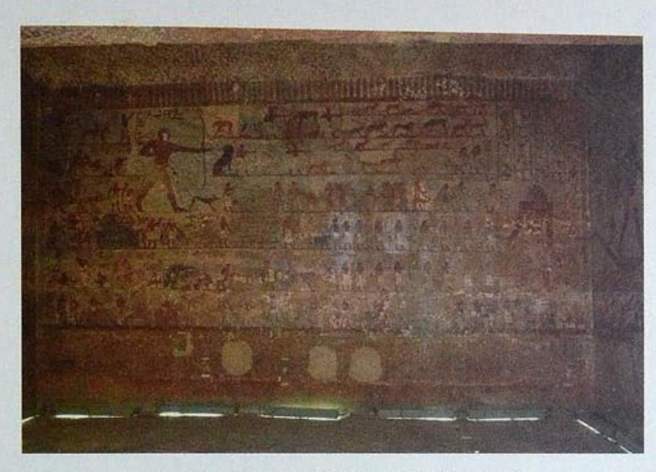


Figure 30. North wall of the tomb of Khnumhotep II (Tomb No. 3)

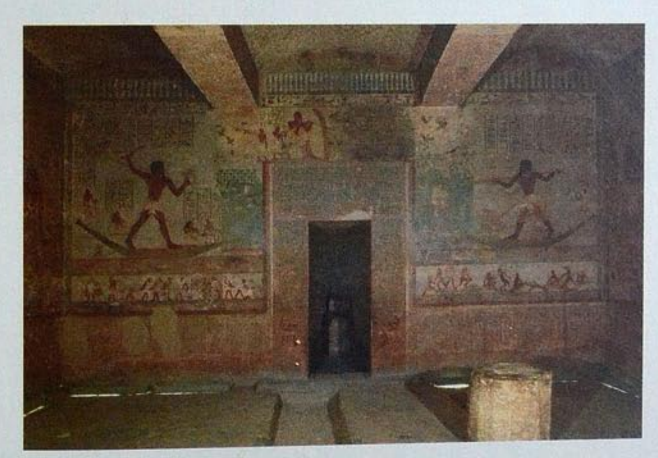


Figure 31. East wall and the shrine of the tomb of Khnumhotep II (Tomb No. 3)

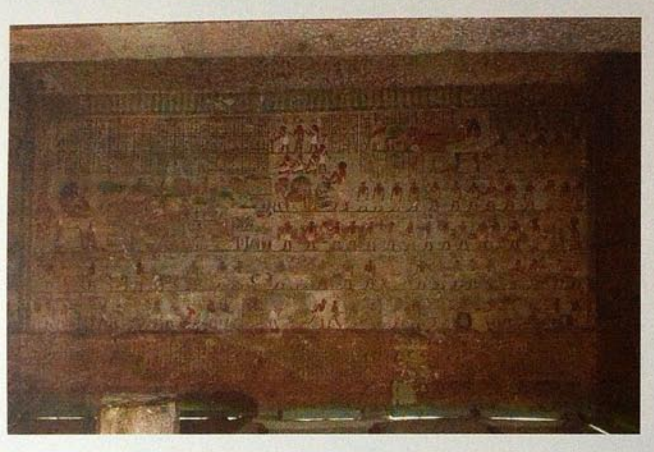


Figure 32. South wall of the tomb of Khnumhotep II (Tomb No. 3)

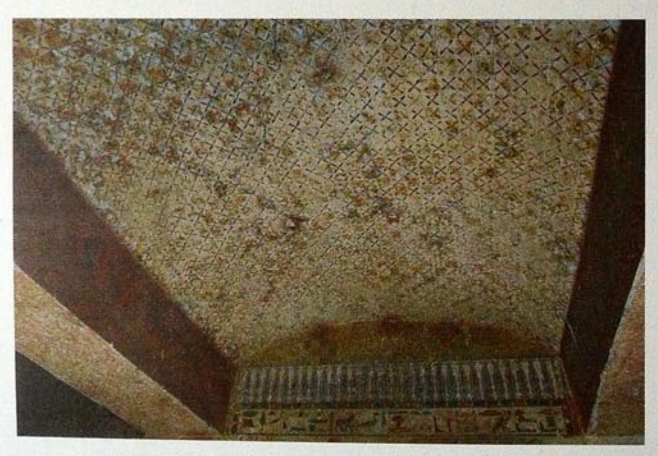


Figure 33. Detail of ceiling in the tomb of Khnumhotep II (Tomb No. 3)

3. THE TOMB OF BAQET III (Tomb No. 15)

Tomb Owner

Although this nomarch most likely belongs to the Eleventh Dynasty, it is impossible with our present knowledge of the site to date him to a more precise period. The tomb is one of the largest on the cliff[29] and Baqet III held the titles of 'count', 'sole companion', and 'great overlord of the entire Oryx-nome'.[30] Whether Baqet III was related to the earlier officials of the same name, Baqet I (Tomb No. 29) or Baqet II (Tomb No. 33) is not clear, however it seems he succeeded his father, Ramushenti (Tomb No. 27), at Beni Hassan in the office of 'great overlord of the entire Oryx-nome'.[31] An inscription in the tomb of Khety (Tomb No. 17) names Baqet as his father and given the close proximity of the two tombs, it seems likely that Baqet III was the father of Khety.[32]

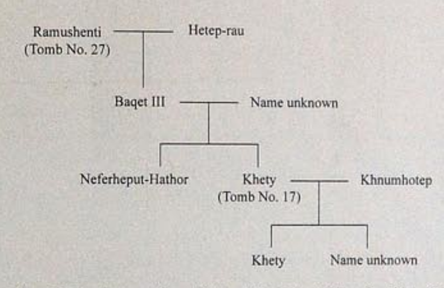


Figure 34. Family tree of Baqet III (Tomb No. 15) and Khety (Tomb No. 17)

Architectural Features

The façade of the tomb is cut into the face of the cliff before a small open court measuring 5.00m. E-W x 7.68m. N-S.[33] The entrance doorway leading to the chapel is 1.60m. wide x 4.60m. high. The chapel consists of one large room, 16.25m. long x 12.00m. wide x 4.75m. high, and a very small shrine with dimensions of 2.10m. x 1.45m., opens in the eastern end of the south wall. The shrine contains a false door and an offering platform. The ceiling of the main room is undecorated, slightly curved and is supported by one row of two lotus-bud columns resting on circular bases. The columns carry an architrave, which runs transversely to the axis of the tomb. The columns and architrave are poorly preserved.

---

29 The neighbouring tomb No. 18 appears to be slightly larger, but is unfinished (Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 2; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, 25).
30 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, 43.
31 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, 30.
32 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, 5-7.
33 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, 45, pl. 2.

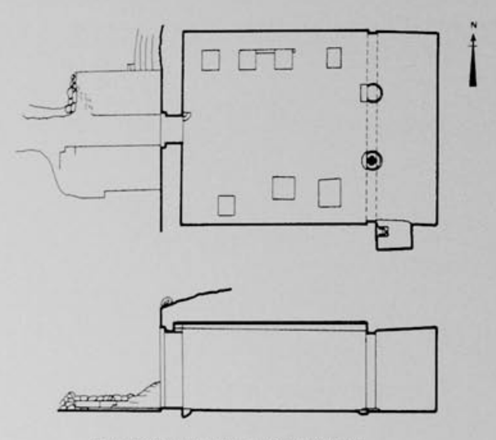


Figure 35. Plan and section of Baqet III's tomb
(After Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pl. 2)

Decorative Program

There are no inscriptions on the façade of the tomb and all the scenes and accompanying inscriptions in the chapel are executed in paint over plaster. The top part of each wall is decorated with a colourful and repetitive *kheker*-motif, beneath which is inscribed a line of hieroglyphs giving the funerary formulae mentioning the king, Osiris, Khentyimentiu, Anubis and Khnum, Lord of Her-wer, as well as listing the name and titles of the tomb owner. The scenes and inscriptions in the chapel are also framed by banded friezes on most sides, however the dado band or the ovoid chain border in the corners between the walls are not incorporated into the tomb's design as in the later Twelfth Dynasty tombs. The style of painting is uniform throughout the tomb, with human figures generally being better rendered than those of animals and birds.[34] The hieroglyphic signs in the line below the *kheker*-frieze are well executed and colourful, while the captions accompanying the scenes are roughly painted. The subject matter placed on each wall is similar to that in the tomb of Khety (Tomb No. 17).

West Wall – Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, 45-46.

The scenes on the west wall are interrupted by the entrance doorway in the centre and are in a poor state of preservation. To the south of the entrance, the remains of two figures can be seen and presumably depict Baqet III standing and seated. To the north of the doorway are several registers of men harvesting papyrus in the marshlands, while the lower section of the wall depicts the slaughtering of animals.

North Wall – Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, 46-47, pl. 4.

The wall is divided into six registers, the top two of which extend the full width of the wall. The

[34] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, 45.

activities in the lower four registers are viewed by Baqet III and his daughter, who occupy the left section of the wall. The represented themes are as follows: 1) Desert hunt using bows, arrows, a lasso and hunting dogs within an enclosed area. 2) Personal grooming: Hairdressers shaving the heads of kneeling male figures; crafts and industries: Spinners; weavers; fullers; twine makers; painters colouring statues and a shrine. 3) Crafts and industries: Female spinners and weavers; games; acrobats and dancers. 4) Procession of animals: Cattle, oryx, goats; presenting accounts to the scribe; clappers; crafts and industries: Manufacturing flint knives, stone jars, sandals and items in leather. 5) Herdsmen leading animals; musicians; carpenters; goldsmiths; artist receiving training; painter colouring a statue; sculptor carving a statue. 6) Fishing with a dragnet; fighting boatmen; Baqet III presumably accompanied by his wife, performing the 'papyrus rattling/pulling ceremony';[35] fighting boatmen; different species of birds.

East Wall – Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, 47-48, pl. 5.

The wall space is divided into nine registers depicting the following themes: 1-6) 220 pairs of men wrestling. 7-9) Military activities: Men carrying shields as well as using bows, arrows in addition to axes and spears; several groups are attacking a fortress, while others have been injured or have died and are piled together in a heap.

South Wall – Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, 48-49, pls. 6-7.

The decoration on this wall is interrupted by the entrance to the shrine. To the east of the door the scenes are divided into seven registers, the top two of which also extend above the door, and depict the following themes: 1) Now damaged, but may have shown grape gathering and treading.[36] 2) Vintage scene: Pouring the squeezed grapes into a sack; twisting a sack to remove liquid; tree full of birds and a bird trap. 3) A standing man followed by a cat, mouse, a pair of monkeys with offspring and a pair of baboons. 4) Pounding and grinding barley; preparing bread. 5) Manufacturing beer. 6-7) Men carrying different types of bread and beer to be recorded by a scribe.

Immediately to the right of the entrance to the shrine is a large standing figure of the tomb owner, almost occupying the entire height of the wall. The scenes in front of him are divided into seven registers, the top three of which extend the full width of the wall, while the lower four registers are interrupted by the presence of two smaller standing figures of Baqet III. The depicted themes are: 1) Transportation of the tomb owner's statue in a shrine, which are preceded by male and female dancers and clappers; male figures presenting funerary objects that are recorded by a scribe. 2) Rendering accounts; punishment of male figures (corporal); herdsmen bringing cattle to be counted; animal husbandry. 3) Rendering accounts; punishment of female and male figures; bringing donkeys to be counted; bull fighting; cattle herding. The themes represented between the standing figures of Baqet III to the eastern end of the wall are as follows: 4) Crafts and industries: Pottery making using a low wheel; mixing clay. 5) Crafts and industries: Transporting and stacking the items for firing in a kiln; manufacturing wooden staffs. 6) Crafts and industries: Goldsmiths; weighing and smelting the metal; partly damaged. The themes shown between the two smaller standing figures of Baqet III to the western end of the wall are: 4) Herdsmen bringing animals; assortment of games or exercises with cups, spikes and clubs. 5) Carrying fowl, papyrus

[35] On the interpretation of this scene type see Vandier, *Manuel* 4, 745, fig. 418g; H. Balcz, 'Zu den Szenen der Jagdfahrten im Papyrusdickicht', *ZÄS* (1939), 32-38; H. Altenmüller, '*Sšš wꜣḏ* in den Gräbern des Alten Reiches', *SAK* 30 (2002), 1-42; P. Montet, 'Hathor et les Papyrus', *Kêmi* 14 (1957), 102-108; Y. Harpur, '*Sšš wꜣḏ* Scenes of the Old Kingdom', *GM* 38 (1980), 57-59; W. Wettengel, 'Zu den Darstellungen des Papyrusraschelns', *SAK* 19 (1992), 333; Munro, *Unas-Friedhof* 1, 111-114.

[36] Compare with the similar arrangement in the tomb of Khety (Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pl. 16).

and lotus flowers; men playing games of strength. 6) Catching birds with a clapnet; five pairs of men playing games. 7) Catching fish with a dragnet; lower portion of the scene is damaged.

Shrine – Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, 50.

The scenes in the shrine are badly preserved. Newberry notes the remains of slaughtering scenes and meat preparation on the east and south walls. An offering platform was carved into the rock against the west wall, which is now damaged.

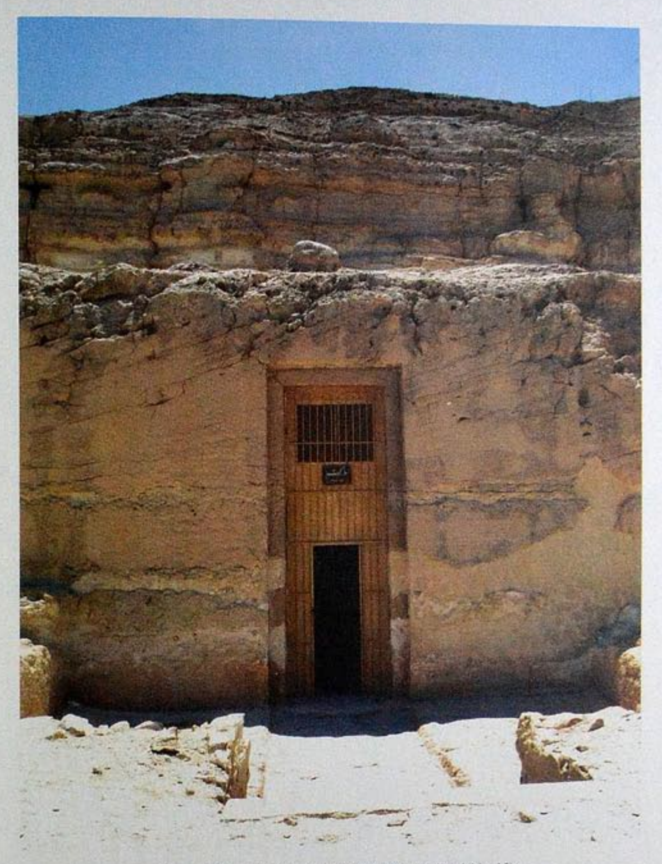


Figure 36. External view of the tomb of Baqet III (Tomb No. 15)



Figure 37. West wall (north of the entrance) of the tomb of Baqet III (Tomb No. 15)



Figure 38. North wall of the tomb of Baqet III (Tomb No. 15)

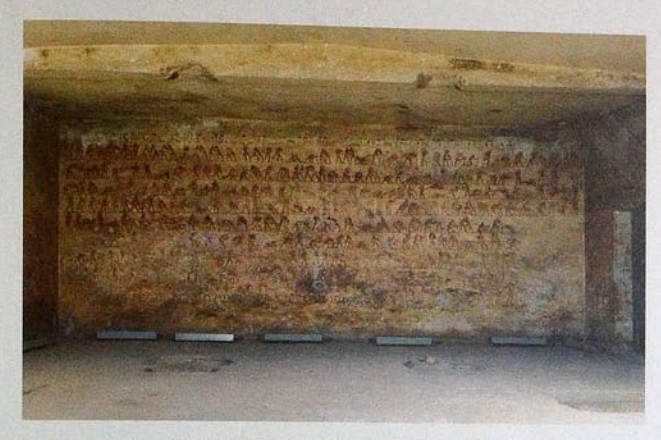


Figure 39. East wall of the tomb of Baqet III (Tomb No. 15)

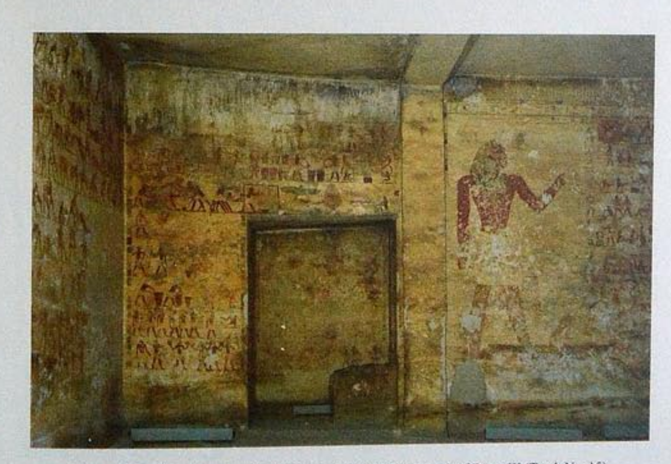


Figure 40. South wall (east section) showing the shrine of the tomb of Baqet III (Tomb No. 15)



Figure 41. South wall (west section) of the tomb of Baqet III (Tomb No. 15)



Figure 42. West wall (south of the entrance) of the tomb of Baqet III (Tomb No. 15)

4. THE TOMB OF KHETY (Tomb No. 17)

Tomb Owner

The tomb of Khety is in close proximity to that of Baqet III (Tomb No. 15) and the two tombs share many architectural and artistic similarities. With Khety's father named Baqet, it is likely that our tomb owner was the son of Baqet III (see figure 34 above for the family tree of Baqet III and Khety). Khety held the offices of 'count', 'sole companion', 'true acquaintance of the king', 'overseer of the army in all difficult places', and 'great overlord of the entire Oryx-nome'.[37]

Architectural Features

The tomb appears to have originally had a forecourt in front of its entrance (see figure 44), however the dimensions were not recorded by Newberry and are not certain at present.[38] The façade of the tomb is cut into the face of the cliff and the entrance doorway leading to the chapel is 1.65m. wide x 4.35m. high. The chapel is formed of one large rectangular room, 16.00m. long x 11.65m. wide x 4.80m. high. The inner half of the chapel has two rows of three quatrefoil columns of the lotus-bud type carrying two architraves. The ceiling is not decorated and is slightly curved.[39] The columns are beautifully coloured and represent four lotus stems with unopened buds.[40]

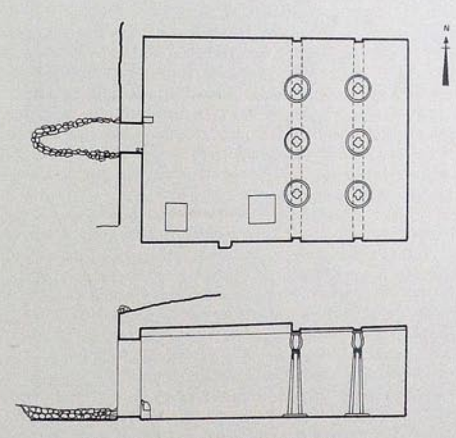


Figure 43. Plan and section of Khety's tomb
(After Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pl. 9)

[37] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, 54.
[38] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, 54-55, pls. 9-10.
[39] See the sectional elevation on Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pl. 9.
[40] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pl. 10.

Decorative Program

There are no inscriptions on the façade or entrance thicknesses of the tomb and all the scenes and accompanying inscriptions in the chapel are executed in paint over plaster. The themes depicted in this chapel illustrate considerable similarity to those found in the neighbouring tomb of Baqet III (Tomb No. 15), however the quality of decoration in Khety's tomb is rather rough with the figures and hieroglyphs poorly drawn. The top part of each wall is decorated with a colourful and repetitive *kheker*-motif, beneath which is inscribed a line of hieroglyphs giving the funerary formulae as well as the names and titles of the tomb owner.[41] The scenes and inscriptions in the chapel are framed by a banded frieze on most walls, however the dado band below the scenes and the ovoid chain border in the corners of the walls are absent.

West Wall – Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, 55-56, pls. 11-12.

The scenes on the west wall are interrupted by the entrance doorway in the centre, however they are in a poor state of preservation. To the south of the entrance there are eight registers containing the following themes: 1-2) Herdsmen leading cattle, donkeys and goats. 3) Bull fighting; herding cattle. 4-5) Ships travelling on the river, possibly on a pilgrimage as in the tombs of Amenemhat (Tomb No. 2) and Khnumhotep II (Tomb No. 3). 6) Beer making; grinding barley (?) (left); slaughtering of animals (right). 7-8) Offering bearers. The centre of the wall is occupied by a false door, dividing registers 6-8 into two parts, and is partly damaged.

To the north of the entrance, the wall is divided into eight registers with three large figures of the tomb owner. On the upper left, Khety is spearing fish in the marshlands, using a spear with a retrieving line and is standing on a baseline, rather than the traditional papyrus skiff. The middle scene shows Khety holding a hooked baton or perhaps a throw stick in preparation for fowling (?), while on the lower left a third figure of the tomb owner is seated on a chair facing the entrance doorway. The remaining part of the wall shows eight registers all devoted to marshland activities and include: 1) Possible papyrus harvesting. 2-3) Aquatic animals in the marshlands. (3) Possible cattle fording a stream. 4-5) Marshland environment. 6) Possible papyrus harvesting. 7) Catching fowl with a clapnet. 8) Returning boatmen.

North Wall – Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, 56-59, pls. 13-14.

The wall scenes are divided into three sections (west, middle and east) marked by two engaged pillars in line with the two rows of loti-form columns.

Western Section: The scenes in this part can be divided into six registers containing the following themes: 1) Desert hunt using bows and arrows within an enclosed/fenced area, with animals shown on the inside and also outside of the fence. 2) Personal grooming: Shaving hair; fullers at work under the supervision of an official; twine makers; spinners; weavers. 3) Crafts and industries: Female spinners and weavers; girls playing games, including jumping, dancing, acrobatic movements and juggling. 4) Male figures presenting funerary objects; male dancers; female clappers; male dancers and the transportation of statues belonging to Khety and his wife in a shrine. 5) Crafts and industries: Sculptors and painters manufacturing wooden statues; carpenters manufacturing wooden objects; painters colouring a shrine; male figures playing draughts; manufacturing wooden staffs. 6) Poorly preserved, yet probably includes fishing with a dragnet and fowling with a clapnet.

[41] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, 55.

Middle Section: The lower portion of the wall features Khety standing and holding a staff and sceptre, accompanied by three dogs. Khety's wife stands to his right holding lotus flowers and is shown in a smaller scale. Above them are musicians and singers, two men and two women. The upper part of the wall is occupied by a desert hunt scene, where male figures are using bows and arrows, a lasso as well as hunting dogs to bring down small prey. Behind the couple two papyrus and lotus ponds and two bird traps are shown. The texts written on the two engaged pillars frame this section of the wall.

Eastern Section: The wall is divided into seven registers and shows the following themes: 1-2) Men carrying water-skins, baskets, bows and arrows. 3) Crafts and industries: Goldsmiths, weighing the metal and a scribe recording, smelting and beating the metal. 4) A herdsman with gazelles. 5) Oryx. 6) Male figure with a flock of geese. 7) Male figure with a flock of cranes. To the left of the lower four registers is a tree with several birds flying and two bird traps.

East Wall – Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, 59-60, pl. 15.

The wall space is divided into eight registers depicting the following themes: 1-5) 122 pairs of men wrestling. 6-8) Military activities: Men using bows and arrows as well as axes and spears with many carrying shields; several groups of armed men are attacking a fortress, while others have been injured or died with the bodies piled in a heap. Breaking into registers 5-7) on the lower south section of the wall is an offering list in addition to a statue in a shrine, a slaughtering scene and several short sub-registers of food and drink.

South Wall – Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, 61-62, pls. 16-17.

The wall scenes are divided into three sections (east, middle and west) and are marked by two engaged pillars in line with the two rows of loti-form columns.

Eastern Section: The top three registers are divided into two parts. To the left: 1) Vintage scene: Gathering and treading grapes. 2) Vintage scene: Pressing grapes, filling storage jars with liquid under the supervision of a scribe. 3) Bird trap followed by a tree with birds. To the right: 1-3) Male figures possibly playing games. The lower half of this section of the wall is separated by a line of hieroglyphic inscriptions and represents the tomb owner holding a staff and sceptre and wearing a leopard skin. Immediately in front of Khety stands a dog and a mythical animal. The tomb owner's wife, named Khnumhotep, stands immediately behind Khety. She is shown smaller in scale and standing next to a painted loti-form column, while holding a staff topped with a lotus bud. The register above her is occupied by a singer with a musician playing the harp and a woman feeding a small infant.

Middle Section: Framed by two engaged pillars, the pillar to the left shows eight registers of men playing games, while the pillar to the right depicts six pairs of men carrying bows, arrows and throw sticks. A large standing figure of the tomb owner occupies most of this section of the wall and includes several lines and columns of inscriptions. Khety is accompanied by three dogs and a baboon as well as several men, one of whom carries a sun shade while another holds a pair of sandals.

Western Section: The top two registers extend the full width of the wall and depict the following themes: 1) Transportation of the tomb owner's statue in a shrine; preceded by male and female dancers and clappers; male figures bringing cuts of meat, fowl, bread and jars of drink. 2) Herdsmen bringing cattle. The lower part of the wall may be divided into three sections. To the left Khety is seated before an offering table laden with loaves of bread and other items of food

and drink. A scribe and priest burning incense are shown in front of Khety, while beneath his chair two dogs are depicted. The central part of the wall contains three registers (3-5), depicting the following themes: 3) Slaughtering an oryx and bringing down an ox in front of the tomb owner; herding donkeys that carry the field produce and directed away from Khety, possibly towards the granaries; male figures reaping the barley under the supervision of an overseer. 4) Offering bearers. 5) Offering bearers; slaughtering an animal. The right section is subdivided into four shorter registers depicting the following: 1) Agricultural pursuits: Granaries; male figures measuring and carrying grain; three tables laden with items for storage. 2) Men harvesting and gathering flax. 3-4) Male figures ploughing the land with oxen.

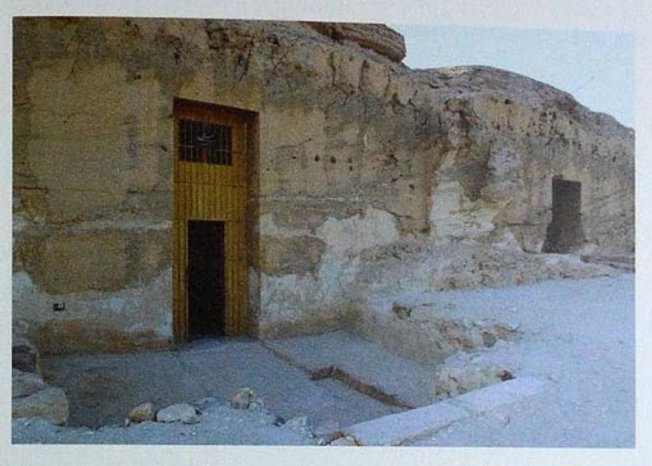


Figure 44. External view of the tomb of Khety (Tomb No. 17)

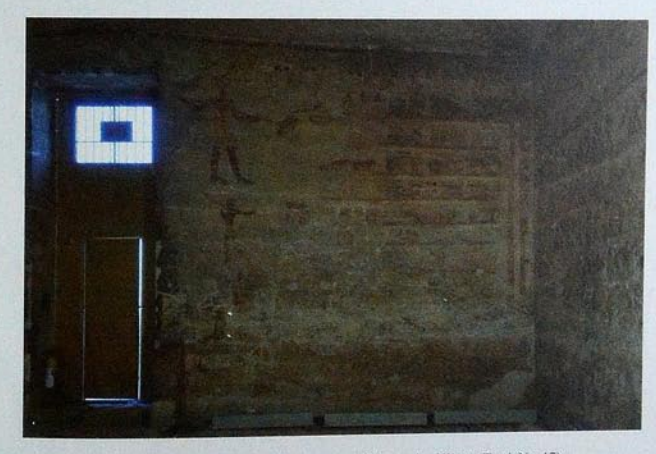


Figure 45. West wall (north of the entrance) of the tomb of Khety (Tomb No. 17)



Figure 46. North wall (west section) of the tomb of Khety (Tomb No. 17)

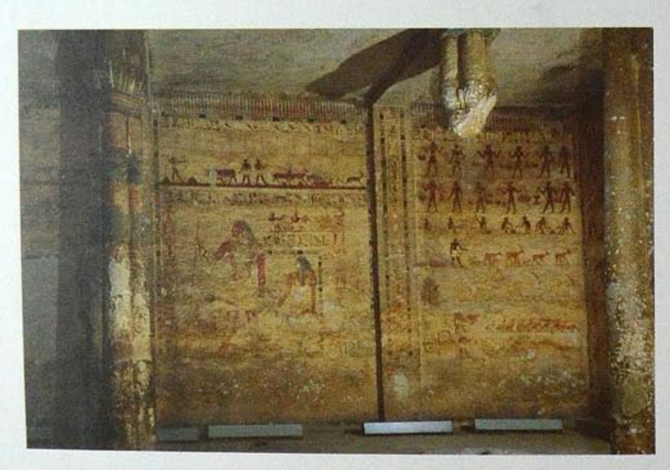


Figure 47. North wall (east section) of the tomb of Khety (Tomb No. 17)

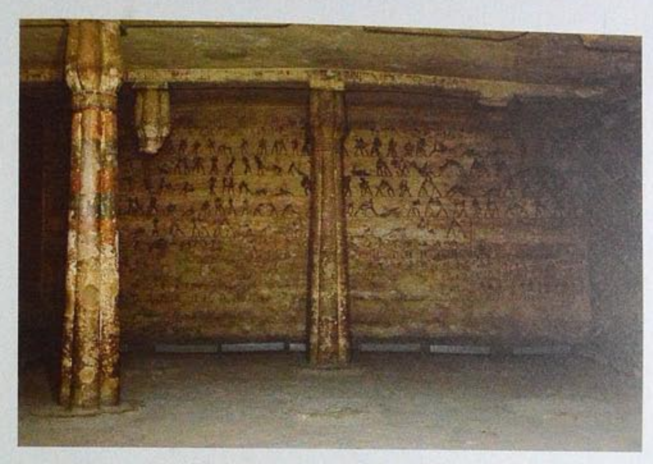


Figure 48. General view of the east wall of the tomb of Khety (Tomb No. 17)

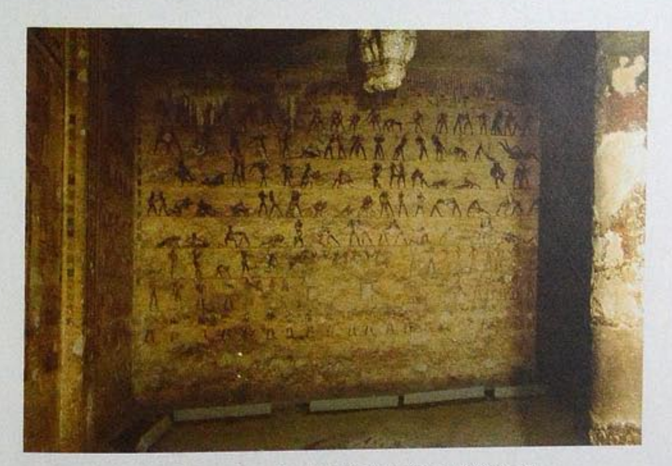


Figure 49. East wall (north section) of the tomb of Khety (Tomb No. 17)



Figure 50. East wall (south section) of the tomb of Khety (Tomb No. 17)

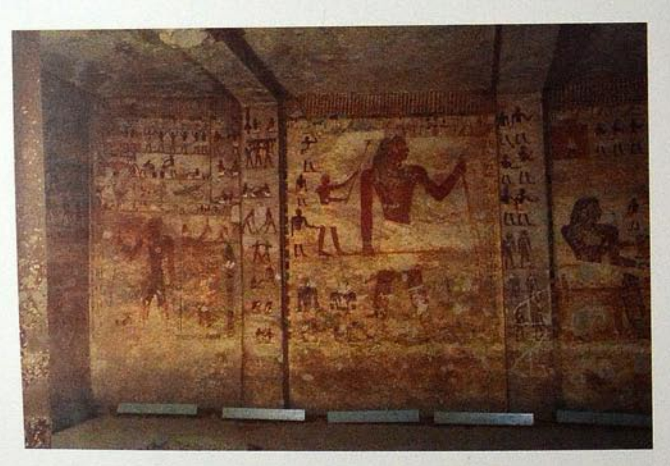


Figure 51. South wall (east section) of the tomb of Khety (Tomb No. 17)



Figure 52. South wall (west section) of the tomb of Khety (Tomb No. 17)



Figure 53. West wall (south of the entrance) of the tomb of Khety (Tomb No. 17)

Chapter 3

A Reflection Of An Era: The Artistic Themes

The photographic plates included in the last part of the book represent a sample of the scenes depicted in four of the best preserved tombs at Beni Hassan, namely those of Amenemhat (Tomb No. 2); Khnumhotep II (Tomb No. 3); Baqet III (Tomb No. 15) and Khety (Tomb No. 17). The decoration in the selected tombs shows the daily life of the people residing in the province and emphasises the role of the provincial administrators during the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties. In general, tombs of this period show indoor and outdoor activities, in which the tomb owner participated or simply watched from a distance. Certain themes are represented more than others, such as the tomb owner and his family or fishing and fowling, which were presumably decided upon by each individual tomb owner together with input from the artists responsible for the decoration. The general arrangement of the scenes in each tomb show some similarity, as seen for example in all four tombs where the desert hunt occupies the top register of the north wall or in the tombs of Baqet III, Khety and Amenemhat where the scenes of warfare and wrestling are shown on the east wall immediately opposite the entrance doorway. At first glance, many of the themes depicted at Beni Hassan show a number of similarities in the general composition, however, the artists decorating the tombs illustrate their individuality and skill in modifying small details and overcoming challenging subject matter.

The images included in the section entitled *Photographs* have been grouped into themes to allow the reader to compare the composition and scene details across all four tombs. The caption below each photograph includes: 1) the serial number of each image; 2) the tomb owner's name; 3) a brief description of the photo's content and 4) the wall upon which the scene is located. The following commentary will regularly refer to the photographs and their respective serial numbers in brackets.

The Tomb Owner and his Family

Biographies in the Old and Middle Kingdoms are restricted to elite officials who held responsible positions in the administration and wished to record a selection of their successes for posterity. The biography, as a self-portrait in words, often emphasises the status of the official and his relationship with the king as well as reflecting the general spirit of the period.[1] After the re-unification of the country by Mentuhotep II in Thebes during the Eleventh Dynasty, the authority of the provincial administrators seems to have been significantly reduced. The Eleventh Dynasty tombs at Beni Hassan do not provide long biographical inscriptions and the quality of the art in the tombs is poorer, in comparison to the later Twelfth Dynasty examples, which suggests that the officials did not have access to experienced and skilled artisans. After taking over from the Mentuhotep family, the early Twelfth Dynasty kings seemed to have attempted to gain the support of the provincial governors and in return provided them with significant resources in terms of land, access to well-trained artists as well as the freedom to govern and accumulate personal wealth. Both Amenemhat and Khnumhotep II placed their biographies in prominent positions in their tombs and also in the more durable sunk relief, as opposed to the rest of the decoration that is in paint over plaster (Photo 1). Amenemhat even provided the exact date for the construction

[1] Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* 1, 4-5.

of his tomb in year 43 of king Senwosret I, which coincided with his own 25th year as hereditary prince in the Oryx-nome (Figure 14 in Chapter 2).[2] Dating an event to a specific year within *his own* governance of the region is characteristic of the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty and reflects Amenemhat's independence as a provincial governor. The biography of Khnumhotep II is one of the longest and well known private inscriptions of the Middle Kingdom, which provides a detailed description of his family background and all the honours they received from the king (Photo 1).[3] Khnumhotep II refers to being praised in the palace of the king and to the fact that he was placed ahead of all other officials. Khnumhotep II was particularly proud of his tomb and its different architectural features such as the portico, columns, doors and inscriptions, stating that the main purpose for building the tomb was to establish his name for all eternity.[4]

Posture, Clothing and Adornment

Similar to the Old Kingdom, tomb owners at Beni Hassan are commonly represented in formal poses[5] including: standing and watching various activities being undertaken by minor figures on a series of registers (Photos 5-6, 8),[6] sitting on a chair before an offering table laden with food items (Photo 4)[7] or as an active figure engaged in fishing or fowling (Photos 17-18, 21). A main departure from the Old Kingdom sees the tomb owner participating in activities such as catching fowl with a clapnet (Photo 19) or as a dominant figure in the desert hunt with a bow and arrow (Photos 27-28), which in earlier periods was normally carried out by minor figures. The artists decorating the tombs at Beni Hassan show great attention to detail in the rendering of the facial features and the musculature of the body. A good example can be seen in the fowling scene of Khnumhotep II where a moustache and a false beard have been carefully painted in black (Photo 2)[8] as well as the fine rendering of the shoulders and arms of the tomb owner hunting with a bow and arrow (Photo 28).[9] In a continuation of the artistic traditions established in the Early Dynastic Period, the tomb owner is always shown in an ideal form and in the prime of his/her life (Photos 4-6, 8), with only subsidiary figures at a reduced scale shown to be either deformed (Photos 5, 168),[10] malnourished (Photo 162), elderly (Photo 163) or suffering from obesity.[11]

---

2 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, 24-27, pl. 8.

3 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, 56-67, pls. 25-26. For translations see Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* 1, § 619-639; A.B. Lloyd, 'The Great Inscriptions of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan' in Lloyd (ed.) *Studies in Pharaonic Religions and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths*, 21-36; G. Dantong, 'The Inscription of Khnumhotep II: A New Study', *Journal of Ancient Civilizations* 10 (1995), 54-63.

4 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, 57, 65-66.

5 For a definition see Robins, *Proportion and Style*, 21-23; Harpur, *Decoration*, 125.

6 Similar to the tombs of Djehutihotep at El-Bersha (Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pls. 7, 20); Senbi (B1) (Blackman, *Meir* 1, pl. 2); Wekhhotep (B2) (Blackman, *Meir* 2, pls. 2, 5-6, 11, 13-14); Wekhhotep (B4) standing and seated (Blackman, *Meir* 3, pls. 2-3, 11, 13-14); Wekhhotep (C1) at Meir (Blackman, *Meir* 6, pl. 11). For a discussion of this theme in the Old Kingdom see Vandier, *Manuel* 5, 13-52; Montet, *Scènes de la vie privée*, 126-147.

7 See also Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pls. 32, 34; Blackman, *Meir* 1, pl. 9; Blackman, *Meir* 2, pls. 6, 10, 12; Blackman, *Meir* 3, pl. 27; Blackman, *Meir* 6, pls. 15, 17. It is interesting that the offering tables in the shrines of Amenemhat and Khnumhotep II are not accompanied by the seated figure of the tomb owner or his wife. Perhaps such an inclusion was considered unnecessary as the tables were placed in close proximity to their respective seated statues (Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 19-20, 36).

8 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 32. For a similar depiction of a false beard see the fowling scene in the tomb of Wekhhotep (C1) at Meir (Blackman, *Meir* 6, pl. 13).

9 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 30.

10 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 16, 32. See Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, 79.

11 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 12, 29-30. For overweight figures at Meir see Blackman, *Meir* 2, pls. 2, 10-11; Blackman, *Meir* 3, pl. 17. In the Old Kingdom, the tomb owner was occasionally depicted with large breasts and a prominent stomach possibly to emphasise his distinguished status and comfortable old age (Harpur, *Decoration*, 131-133, 329-331, Table 6.5). A good example can be found in the tomb of

The traditional colours for the male and female skin tone were also observed, red for male figures and yellow for female. However, the skin colour for each male figure was not always consistent throughout the tomb and is best evidenced on the south wall of the tomb of Khety. Here the tomb owner is seated before an offering table and appears of a dark red skin tone (Photo 4), yet on the same wall he is depicted supervising activities with an attendant and they are both of a lighter red colour (Photo 5). Khety appears again on the south and north walls in the same lighter red skin tone (Photos 6, 8). As the tomb owner and many of his attendants are shown in two different tones of red, the inconsistency may not be an accurate portrayal of their actual skin colour but rather dependent on the palette of the painter who completed this particular scene or wall.

The tomb owners at Beni Hassan wear short or long wigs, as is customary in the Old Kingdom, as well as the usual broad collar and bracelets (Photos 2, 4-6, 8).[12] The clothing worn by tomb owners in the Middle Kingdom generally continued the traditions of earlier periods and can be depicted wearing a wrap-around kilt, with or without a projecting point, and a sash (Photos 4-5, 8).[13] A new style of dress is introduced in Dynasty Twelve and shows the tomb owner in a short kilt with a longer transparent overlay reaching the shins. The figure can be depicted supervising outdoor activities,[14] as an active figure hunting in the desert (Photo 27)[15] or spearing fish in the marshes wearing the overlay on top of the *shendyt* kilt (Photo 21).[16] On the other hand the leopard skin seems to have been rarely worn by tomb owners at Beni Hassan and is only found in the tombs of Khety (Photo 6) and Baqet I.[17] The clothing worn by officials at Beni Hassan seems to have been similar to the styles of the Old Kingdom, which is in contrast to the fashions represented at El-Bersha and Meir where the tomb owners wear a pleated shawl covering the shoulder,[18] a long pleated dress[19] or a *shendyt* kilt with a pleated overlay to simply view activities.[20] Finally, Amenemhat and Khnumhotep II are both represented seated before an offering table laden with bread loaves. Each figure is holding a fly whisk in one hand, which is an item commonly carried by officials in the Old Kingdom and also attested in the tombs at El-Bersha and Meir.[21]

Ankhmahor at Saqqara (Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 2, pl. 36).

12 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 13, 17; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 4, 7, 14, 16-17, 31.

13 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 17, 35; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 4, 7, 14, 16-17, 31. See also the following tombs at El-Bersha (Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pls. 12, 19; Griffith and Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 2, pls. 8, 14) and Meir (Blackman, *Meir* 1, pls. 2, 9; Blackman, *Meir* 2, pls. 2-3, 5-6, 10-11, 13-14; Blackman, *Meir* 3, pls. 12, 27).

14 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 13, 30. See also the tomb of Djehutihotep at El-Bersha (Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pl. 20).

15 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 30.

16 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 34. See also Blackman, *Meir* 1, pl. 2; Blackman, *Meir* 6, pl. 13. Djehutihotep at El-Bersha wears the transparent overlay when watching the transportation of his colossal statue (Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pls. 12-13), but by contrast Wekhhotep (C1) wears the overlay seated before an offering table (Blackman, *Meir* 6, pl. 17).

17 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 16, 30. See also the tombs of Intef II and Antefoker at Thebes (Arnold, *El-Tarif*, pl. 53; Davies, *Antefoker*, pl. 14); Setka at Aswan (Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan*, pl. 74); Ahanahkt at El-Bersha (Griffith and Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 2, pl. 16) and Wekhhotep (B2) at Meir (Blackman, *Meir* 2, pl. 16 [2, 4]). Two *sem*-priests wear the animal skin in the tombs of Amenemhat and Khnumhotep II (Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 17, 35), see also Photo 14.

18 Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pls. 11-12, 19-20; Blackman, *Meir* 3, pl. 18.

19 See the tombs of Djehutihotep at El-Bersha (Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pl.7) and Wekhhotep (C1) at Meir (Blackman, *Meir* 6, pl. 18).

20 See the tomb of Wekhhotep (C1) at Meir (Blackman, *Meir* 6, pl. 11).

21 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 17, 35. Wekhhotep (C1) is shown in an identical position seated before an offering table (Blackman, *Meir* 6, pl. 17), while Djehutihotep at El-Bersha and Wekhhotep (B4) at Meir are holding the whisk and view other activities (Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pls. 12, 19; Blackman, *Meir* 3, pl. 3). For officials holding a fly whisk in Old Kingdom tombs see H.G. Fischer, 'Fächer und Wedel', *LÄ* 1, 81-86;

Women, Family and Marriage in the Province

In the Middle Kingdom women were able to inherit certain positions and ranking titles from their fathers, such as those of 'hereditary princess' and 'countess'.[22] Wives are prominently depicted in the tombs of their husbands and often appear at separate offering tables, as seen in the tombs of Amenemhat and Khnumhotep II (Photo 3).[23] While male skin tones can vary, the skin colour of female figures remains consistent. For example Khnumhotep II's wife, Khety, is shown in the same shade of yellow wherever she appears in the tomb such as before an offering table (Photo 3) or in the fowling scene on the east wall (Photo 18). Interestingly, in the tomb of Khety his wife is depicted standing near a structure with a pillar, which is similar in shape and colour to those carved out of the native rock in the chapel of his tomb (Photos 6-7).[24] Occasionally tomb owner's wives are depicted wearing a bead net dress,[25] however they commonly don a tight-fitting sheath dress with a tri-partite wig as well as different types of jewellery including broad collars, bracelets and anklets (Photos 3, 6, 8).[26]

In all the tombs at Beni Hassan, there is considerable emphasis on recording the family background of each tomb owner, appearing in both biographical inscriptions and in the chapel decoration. Children are regularly associated with inscriptions identifying both their father and mother.[27] In addition numerous priests, officials and attendants are also represented and identified by name and office in each tomb, with each being shown at a reduced scale to that of the tomb owner and his wife.[28] These officials frequently perform a ceremony, present offerings to the tomb owner (Photos 12-15),[29] or carry items as part of their occupation such as a catch of live birds to a poultry yard (Photo 16).[30] Such ceremonies and offerings are commonly represented in Old Kingdom tombs, including the purification ceremony, glorification and removal of the foot-prints[31] as well as the presentation of a goose or foreleg by the tomb owner's son (Photo 14).[32]

Hassan, *Giza* 4, fig. 119; Weeks, *G6000 Cemetery*, fig. 36; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 39; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and His Family* 1, pl. 47. Fly whisks are often shown on the stern of papyrus boats on a journey to the marshes, see Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 5, pl. 54.

22 Such titles seem to have been a male prerogative in the Old Kingdom, although they were held by one woman during this period, the vizier and mother-in-law of king Pepy I called Nebet (Fischer, *Egyptian Women*, fig. 27).

23 Newberry *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 18, 35.

24 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pl. 16.

25 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 18. See also the tomb of Wekhhotep (C1) at Meir (Blackman, *Meir* 6, pl. 12). Bead-net dresses are also found in Old Kingdom tombs, see Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 46; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 4, fig. 8; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 7, fig. 16.

26 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 35; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 4, 14, 16. See also the tombs at El-Bersha (Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pl. 20) and Meir (Blackman, *Meir* 1, pl. 9; Blackman, *Meir* 2, pls. 2, 3, 5-6, 11, 13-14; Blackman, *Meir* 3, pls. 6-7; Blackman, *Meir* 6, pl. 15).

27 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 35. Compare with the tomb of Wekhhotep (B4) at Meir (Blackman, *Meir* 3, pls. 10-11).

28 On the issue of scale see Schäfer, *Principles*, 234-238.

29 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 17-20, 30, 35, 37, 46; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 17, 22a, 28, 30, 36. See also Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pls. 20, 23, 32, 34; Blackman, *Meir* 1, pl. 9; Blackman, *Meir* 2, pls. 2, 6, 11, 13-14; Blackman, *Meir* 3, pls. 16-17, 21-23, 25-26; Blackman, *Meir* 6, pls. 17-18.

30 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 30.

31 H. Altenmüller, 'Eine neue deutung der Zeremony des *ini.t rd*', *JEA* 57 (1971), 146-153.

32 See for example Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and His Family* 1, pls. 49-50; James, *Khentika*, pl. 14; Simpson, *Western Cemetery* 1, figs. 23-24; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 52; Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 34; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 75a.

A rather ambiguous text that may refer to Khety's personal interest or possible role in encouraging marriages that took place in his province is recorded on the two engaged pillars on the north wall of his tomb (Photos 8-11).[33] The hieroglyphs on one pillar show the most explicit depiction of sexual intercourse known from tomb inscriptions or decoration.[34] It is also interesting that on the second engaged pillar, a matching inscription wishes Khety life, dominion and stability and that 'he may love millions of women'.[35]

Entertainment

Various types of entertainment are frequently incorporated into the repertoire of scenes at Beni Hassan. The tomb owner can be shown catching fish or fowl in the marshlands, watching or engaging in the hunting of desert animals with a bow and arrow in addition to viewing different activities such as a bull fight or performing dancers and musicians.

Fishing and fowling

The tomb owner shown spear-fishing and fowling in the marshes is frequently attested in tombs in the Memphite and provincial cemeteries dating to the Old Kingdom.[36] This theme is continued in the Middle Kingdom tombs at El-Bersha,[37] Meir,[38] Aswan,[39] Thebes[40] and also those of Khnumhotep II, (Photos 17-18, 21-24), Baqet I (Tomb No. 29), Baqet II (Tomb No. 33) and Khety at Beni Hassan.[41] In the chapels of Baqet I (Tomb No. 29) and Khety, the tomb owners are not shown standing on a papyrus boat[42] and, most unusually, Khety has caught only one fish on the end of the spear, a *Tilapia*, rather than the two traditional *Tilapia* and *Lates* fish.[43] In the tombs of Khnumhotep II and Baqet I (Tomb No. 29), we see the tomb owner's wife accompanying him on his journey to the marshes[44] and Khnumhotep II's spear-fishing scene even shows a cat

---

33 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pl. 14.

34 Manniche, *Sexual Life in Ancient Egypt*, 33-34.

35 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, 58.

36 Harpur, *Decoration*, 140-141. For a recent collection and examination of Old Kingdom marsh scenes see Woods, *Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes* 1, 27-29, Table 3.3; Woods, *Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes* 2, Table A. See also Vandier, *Manuel* 4, 718-719; Harpur, *Decoration*, 335-339 (Table 6.18), 355-367 (Features 1-4); Decker and Herb, *Bildatlas* 1, 382-420 (Doc. K. 2.1-2.106); Decker and Herb, *Bildatlas* 2, pls. 207-242.

37 Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pls. 8-9.

38 See Senbi (B1) (Blackman, *Meir* 1, pl. 2); Wekhhotep (B2) (Blackman, *Meir* 2, pl. 4); Wekhhotep (B4) (Blackman, *Meir* 3, pls. 4, 6-7; Wekhhotep (C1) (Blackman, *Meir* 6, pl. 13).

39 Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan*, pl. 72.

40 Jaroš-Deckert, *Asasif* 5, pl. 22; Davies, *Antefoker*, pl. 4.

41 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 32-34; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 11, 29, 35.

42 For examples see the slightly earlier tombs of Wahi and Mery-aa at El-Hagarsa (Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* 3, pls. 28, 45).

43 The significance of these two fish caught on the spear has been discussed at length, see *Lates Niloticus*: D.J. Brewer, 'Fish', *OEAE* 2 (2001), 535; Gamer-Wallert, *Fischkult im alten Ägypten*, 128-130. *Tilapia Niloticus*: Gamer-Wallert, *Fischkult im alten Ägypten*, 110-111; M. Dambach and I. Wallert, 'Das Tilapia-Motiv in der altägyptischen Kunst', *Chronique d'Egypte* 41 [81] (1966), 283-294; G. Robins, 'Problems in Interpreting Egyptian Art', *DE* 17 (1990), 50-52; Brewer and Friedman, *Fishing in Ancient Egypt*, 77; I. Gamer-Wallert, 'Fische, religiös', *LÄ* 2 (1977), 232-233. On the symbolism evoked by the spearing of the two fish from both Upper and Lower Egypt see: Kamrin, *Cosmos of Khnumhotep II*, 113. A further deviation can be seen in the tomb of Ini-itef at Thebes (Jaroš-Deckert, *Asasif* 5, pl. 22), where the spear-fishing tomb owner holds the spear along with a retrieving line, which is only otherwise attested in the Old Kingdom tombs of Idu at Dendera and Ankhtifi at Moalla (Petrie, *Dendereh*, pl. 5; Vandier, *Mo'alla*, pls. 14 [lower], 40) and is more commonly associated with figures engaged in a hippopotamus hunt. See for example Jéquier, *Pepy II* 3, pls. 32-35; Decker and Herb, *Bildatlas* 1, pl. 199.

44 See also Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pls. 8-9; Blackman, *Meir* 1, pl. 2; Blackman, *Meir* 3, pls. 6-7; Blackman, *Meir* 6, pl. 13. For a discussion on the inclusion or exclusion of wives in Old Kingdom tomb scenes see

amongst the papyrus stalks (Photo 22). While the spear-fishing scenes in the chapels of Baqet I (Tomb No. 29) and Baqet II (Tomb No. 33) are positioned on the north walls beneath the desert hunt, possibly due to both activities being associated with hunting, in Khety's tomb the scene is placed on the west wall – north of the entrance doorway and adjacent to other marshland activities. By contrast, Khnumhotep II's fishing and fowling scenes are located immediately opposite the entrance on the east wall and flanking the doorway to the shrine, which is the most prominent position in the tomb's decorative scheme.[45] In the tombs of Baqet I (Tomb No. 29), Baqet III, Khety and Amenemhat, this wall was occupied by scenes of warfare and probable military training.[46] The chapel of Khnumhotep II is the only example at Beni Hassan showing the major figure engaged in spear-fishing or fowling wearing the traditional *shendyt* kilt, as is customary in Old Kingdom tomb scenes.[47] By contrast, Baqet I (Tomb No. 29) and also Khety wear a normal wrap-around kilt.[48] Interestingly, the tombs of Baqet I (Tomb No. 29) and Baqet II (Tomb No. 33) at Beni Hassan show the major figures wearing a fillet and streamer, which is seen in contemporary examples at El-Bersha and Meir.[49]

The marshland environment is usually depicted with great accuracy and includes various species of birds (Photo 24) and animals such as the common genet and Egyptian mongoose (Photo 23).[50] The last two animals are regularly shown in Old Kingdom tombs with similar details and colour as seen in the tombs of Meref-nebef and Idut at Saqqara.[51] The birds in Khumhotep II's tomb have maintained most of their original colour, which allows the identification of the different species, such as a cormorant,[52] Sacred Ibis[53] (Photo 23) or a heron[54] and European Spoonbill (Photo 24).[55]

Hunting birds in the marshlands seems to have been a favoured activity in ancient Egypt and is frequently represented in a tomb's decoration. The tomb owner is usually shown holding a throw-

A.M. Roth, 'The Absent Spouse: Patterns and Taboos in Egyptian Tomb Decoration', *JARCE* 36 (1999), 37-53; J. Swinton, 'The Depiction of Wives of Tomb Owners in the Later Old Kingdom', *BACE* 14 (2003), 95-109; A.M. Roth, 'Little Women: Gender and Hierarchic Proportion in Old Kingdom Mastaba Chapels' in Bárta (ed.), *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, 281-296.

[45] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 32-34. Similar to Wekhhotep (C1) at Meir (Blackman, *Meir* 6, pl. 13). By contrast, in the tomb of Djehutihotep at El-Bersha the scenes are placed on the west wall flanking the entrance doorway to the tomb (Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pls. 8-9).

[46] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 32, 15, 5 respectively; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 14-16.

[47] For the frequency of such a garment in Old Kingdom marsh scenes see A. Woods, 'Five significant features in Old Kingdom Spear-fishing and Fowling Scenes' in *Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Egyptologists, Rhodes, Greece*, in press. Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 32, 34 – with the transparent overlay on the spear-fishing figure as noted previously. See also the Middle Kingdom tombs of Ini-itef at Thebes (Jaroš-Deckert, *Asasif* 5, pl.22); Senbi (B1) (Blackman, *Meir* 1, pl. 2) and Wekhhotep (C1) at Meir (Blackman, *Meir* 6, pl. 13). The last scene also unusually shows the tomb owner fowling and wearing a kilt decorated with small *djed*-pillars, ankhs and also *was*-scepters.

[48] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 11, 29.

[49] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 29, 35; Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pls. 8-9; Blackman, *Meir* 6, pl. 13.

[50] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 32, 34. See also the tombs of Senbi (B1) (Blackman, *Meir* 1, pl. 2); Wekhhotep (B4) (Blackman, *Meir* 3, pls. 6-7); Wekhhotep (C1) at Meir (Blackman, *Meir* 6, pl. 13).

[51] Myśliwiec, *Merefnebef*, pls. 54-55; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cemetery* 2, pl. 2a. For other examples of this motif see Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, figs. 5-6; van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pl. 1; Duell, *Mereruka* 1, pls. 9-13; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 9-13; Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 7, 17; Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 24, 28; Y. El-Masry, 'Two Old Kingdom Rock-Tombs at Gohaina', *BACE* 15 (2004), fig. 2.

[52] Houlihan, *Birds of Ancient Egypt*, 7-9.

[53] Houlihan, *Birds of Ancient Egypt*, 28-30.

[54] Houlihan, *Birds of Ancient Egypt*, 13-16.

[55] Houlihan, *Birds of Ancient Egypt*, 33-34, fig. 43.

stick in one hand and several decoy birds in the other and is accompanied by family members or attendants on the papyrus boat. While spear-fishing and catching birds with a throw-stick are traditional activities portrayed in wall scenes from the Old Kingdom onwards, the tomb of Khnumhotep II shows a departure from this tradition by representing the tomb owner using a clapnet to catch a large number of birds (Photos 19-20).[56] As mentioned previously, Old Kingdom tomb scenes depict only minor figures using a clapnet to catch birds.[57] Above the doorway to the shrine, Khnumhotep II is seated behind a reed screen and pulling on a rope to close the net,[58] a motif which also appears in the tomb of Djehutihotep at El-Bersha.[59] The clapnet at Beni Hassan seems to be placed within a body of water, judging by the zig-zag lines clearly drawn below the net and birds shown swimming amongst the water weeds, lotus buds and flowers floating on the surface of the water (Photo 20).[60] On the other hand the body of water is flanked by trees in which various species of birds rest, which are again depicted with care and significant attention to the colours and patterns of the feathers (Photos 193-196).

Hunting in the Desert

During the Old Kingdom, kings and occasionally hunters are shown using a bow and arrow in desert hunt scenes.[61] However in the Middle Kingdom the tomb owner appears for the first time as a major figure practising this sport.[62] The best example is preserved in the tomb of Khnumhotep II and shows him with the bow outstretched ready to shoot various animals in an enclosure (Photos 27-28).[63] Here the tomb owner wears the common wrap-around kilt with a transparent overlay, which is different from the *shendyt* kilt or rectangular shaped kilt that was built for greater flexibility and worn by several officials at Meir.[64] Khnumhotep II is accompanied by four of his sons, all practising the same sport, as well as several hunting dogs wearing collars (Photo 29). The activity seems to have taken place within a large fenced enclosure, into which various animals such as lions, gazelles, oryx, wild bulls and Nubian ibex have been presumably driven and surrounded for the hunt.[65] Although many animals are captured in the area, others are shown

[56] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 33.

[57] Harpur, *Decoration*, 141-144, 339-241, Table 6.19. For Old Kingdom examples see Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 4; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pls. 1, 5-6; Épron and Wild, *Ti* 2, pls. 87 [A] (detail), 120-122; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 33; Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 8; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 22.

[58] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 33.

[59] Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pls. 12, 17.

[60] For similar rendering of the water weed see the tombs of Wekhhotep (C1) at Meir (Blackman, *Meir* 6, pl. 13) and also Ahanakht at El-Bersha (Griffith and Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 2, pl. 16).

[61] Borchardt, *S3ḥu-Reʿ*, 2, pl. 18. This technique of hunting is never shown in elite tombs in the Memphite cemeteries, see Vandier, *Manuel* 4, 791ff; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 52; Peck, *Naga ed-Dêr*, pls. 10, 12; Vandier, *Moʿalla*, fig. 45. One possible exception may be in the tomb of Akhetmerunesut, where the tomb owner is shown swinging a lasso (A.M. Roth, 'The Mastaba of Akh-Meret-Nesut and his Family,' in D'Auria, Lacovara and Roehrig, (eds.) *Mummies and Magic*, 83-87).

[62] See also the tombs of Antefoker at Thebes (Davies, *Antefoker*, pl. 7), Heqaib (QH 28) (Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan*, pl. 20), in addition to Senbi (B1) (Blackman, *Meir* 1, pl. 6); Wekhhotep (B2) (Blackman, *Meir* 2, pl. 8); Wekhhotep (B4) (Blackman, *Meir* 3, pl. 5) and Wekhhotep (C1) at Meir (Blackman, *Meir* 6, pl. 9).

[63] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 30. The method of hunting is similar to Senbi (B1) at Meir, however here the tomb owner is accompanied by a Nubian (Blackman, *Meir* 1, pls. 6-7). Wekhhotep (B2) at Meir is shown with a figure of similar dress, without the trademark feather in the hair (Blackman, *Meir* 2, pl. 8). By contrast Djehutihotep at El-Bersha watches the hunt taking place, while wearing a long linen kilt and leaning on a staff (Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pl.7).

[64] See Blackman, *Meir* 1, pl. 6; Blackman, *Meir* 2, pl. 8 (*shendyt* kilt); Blackman, *Meir* 6, pl. 9.

[65] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 8, 30, 46; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 4, 13, 28-29. The fenced enclosures are represented in the Old Kingdom, see for example Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pls. 38, 40;

grazing just outside the fence (Photos 25-26).[66] In the tombs of Amenemhat, Baqet III and Khety, hunters are depicted using a bow and arrow as well as a lasso to bring down large animals like a wild bull.[67] Dogs are used to catch small desert ungulates (Photos 30, 34, 40-42)[68] or to assist in the capturing of a wild bull being lassoed and transfixed with arrows (Photos 25, 35). Lions in the desert are never shown being pierced by a hunter's arrow[69] and in the tombs of Baqet I (Tomb No. 29), Baqet III and Khety, a lion is shown biting the muzzle of its prey to suffocate it (Photo 38).[70] By contrast, in the chapel of Amenemhat a lion is bringing down a bubal hartebeest using its paws (Photo 26). Unlike other Middle Kingdom tombs, those at Beni Hassan do not represent certain motifs in the desert hunt scenes such as mating lions[71] or a gazelle suckling a calf.[72]

Although the hide of several animals has been pierced with more than one arrow, they still appear very active (Photos 25, 27, 29, 31, 43). The tomb of Amenemhat shows a bubal hartebeest which has been struck by three arrows as well as a wild bull with three arrows, which is struggling against a lasso and a hunting dog (Photo 25). Khety's tomb also depicts a bull charging at a hunter having already been hit with five arrows (Photo 43).[73] In the Middle Kingdom arrows are shown to be made of wood and strong reeds shaped to form a sharp point,[74] with fletching attached to the shaft to allow accuracy in directing the arrow towards the target (Photos 25, 27, 29, 31, 34, 43).

The desert is usually painted red with black and white detail,[75] however the Eleventh Dynasty tombs of Baqet III and Khety show it as being a flat surface with minimum mounds and a good deal of vegetation (Photos 34-44). By contrast, the Twelfth Dynasty tombs of Amenemhat and Khnumhotep II show the terrain as being uneven and undulating, which are features more commonly associated with a traditional desert hunt depiction of the Old Kingdom (Photos 25-26,

---

Duell, *Mereruka* 1, pls. 24-5; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and His Family* 1, pl. 46. This method of hunting is also represented in the tombs at El-Bersha, Meir and Thebes (Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pl. 7; Blackman, *Meir* 1, pls. 6-8; Blackman, *Meir* 3, pl. 5; Jaroš-Deckert, *Asasif* 5, pl. 21; Davies, *Antefoker*, pl. 6). No fence is shown in the tomb of Wekhhotep (B2) (Blackman, *Meir* 2, pl. 8).

66 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 8.

67 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 8; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 4, 13. For a similar motif see the Old Kingdom tomb of Ptahhotep at Saqqara (Harpur and Scremin, *Chapel of Ptahhotep*, 356 [5], 358 [7]) as well as in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Djehutihotep at El-Bersha (Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pl. 7).

68 For Old Kingdom examples see Duell, *Mereruka* 1, pl. 25; Davies, *Ptahhetep* 1, pl. 21; Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 8, pls. 13-14; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and His Family* 1, pl. 46. See also the Middle Kingdom tombs of Baqet I (Tomb No. 29) at Beni Hassan (Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pl. 29), Senbi (B1) (Blackman, *Meir* 1, pls. 6, 8) and Wekhhotep (B2) at Meir (Blackman, *Meir* 2, pl. 8), Djehutynakht at El-Bersha (Willems, *Dayr al-Barshā*, pl. 46) as well as Ini-itef and Antefoker at Thebes (Jaroš-Deckert, *Asasif* 5, pl. 21; Davies, *Antefoker*, pl. 6).

69 The tomb of Senbi (B1) at Meir shows an unusual motif of a hyena pierced by an arrow through the leg and head (Blackman, *Meir* 1, pls. 6, 8).

70 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 4, 13, 31. In Old Kingdom tomb scenes, lions usually suffocate wild bulls (Duell, *Mereruka* 1, pl. 25; Davies, *Ptahhetep* 1, pls. 21-22; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and His Family* 1, pl. 46). In some instances, the lions are shown biting small animals, see Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and His Family* 1, pl. 46; Epron and Wild, *Ti* 2, pl. 127; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 15. See also the Middle Kingdom tomb of Senbi (B1) at Meir (Blackman, *Meir* 1, pls. 6, 8).

71 See the tomb of Senbi (B1) at Meir (Blackman, *Meir* 1, pls. 6, 8). For an Old Kingdom example see Harpur and Scremin, *The Chapel of Ptahhotep*, 356 [5].

72 See Senbi (B1) at Meir (Blackman, *Meir* 1, pls. 6, 8). For Old Kingdom examples see Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, *pl.* 38; Hassan, *Saqqara 3*, pl. 14c; Harpur and Scremin, *The Chapel of Ptahhotep*, 356 [5]; Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, 46.

73 Compare with the tomb of Antefoker at Thebes (Davies, *Antefoker*, pl. 6).

74 For some earlier examples see Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* 2, 23, pl. 10a-b.

75 See for example, Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, pls. 23, 52; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 9; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 19 and personal examination. Davies, *Antefoker*, pl. 6.

29-33).[76] The animals commonly represented in the scene include gazelles, oryx, Nubian ibex, deer, wild bulls, lions and jackals (Photo 37), in one instance even an ostrich (Photo 39).[77] In the chapel of Baqet III, a pair of lions is shown with the associated hieroglyphs mentioning the 'lions from Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt'.[78] In the tombs of Baqet III and Khety, animals in the desert hunt scene are shown mating.[79] Whereas in the chapel of Khnumhotep II a hyena and a fox appear behind a gazelle and an oryx giving birth respectively, waiting to devour the newborn (Photos 32-33). The last motif is also seen in the tomb of Wekhhotep (B2) at Meir.[80] In the tombs of Baqet III and Khety, one animal is shown painted yellow with a spotted hide like a leopard (Photo 36), but the neck is unusually elongated and the head is too small for the size of the animal (Photos 31, 44).[81] Several tombs at Beni Hassan include mythical animals in the desert hunt scene. For example, Khnumhotep II's chapel depicts an animal with a spotted coat, which has a pair of wings and the head of a human fixed to its back (Photo 204).[82]

Bull fighting

In the chapels of Baqet I (Tomb No. 29), Baqet III, Khety and Khnumhotep II, two bulls are represented locking horns in a fight (Photos 45-49),[83] which is a motif attested in Old Kingdom provincial tombs, but never in the Memphite cemeteries.[84] In the Old Kingdom, there are many bull fighting scenes represented in front of the tomb owner and the associated inscriptions indicate he was 'viewing the bull fight'.[85] The same activity is found in the Middle Kingdom tombs of Djehutihotep[86] and Ahanakht[87] at El-Bersha, Ini-intef at Thebes[88] as well as Senbi (B1) and Wekhhotep (B2) at Meir,[89] however the scenes are generally not positioned in close proximity to the tomb owner.

---

76 See for example the Old Kingdom tombs in Junker, *Gîza* 2, fig. 63; Roth, *Palace Attendants*, pl. 189; Harpur and Scremin, *The Chapel of Ptahhotep*, 376 [5]; Duell, *Mereruka* 1, pl. 25; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and His Family* 1, pl. 46; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 19. See also the Middle Kingdom examples in Jaroš-Deckert, *Asasif* 5, pl. 21; Davies, *Antefoker*, pl. 6; Blackman, *Meir* 1, pl. 6.

77 Compare with the tomb of Nimaatre at Giza (Roth, *Palace Attendants*, pl. 189).

78 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pl. 4.

79 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 4, 13.

80 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 30; Blackman, *Meir* 2, pl. 8. Strandberg, *The Gazelle in Ancient Egyptian Art*, 19.

81 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 4, 13 (top register).

82 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 30 (top register).

83 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 30; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 7, 12, 31. This may also be seen in the unpublished tomb of Ramushenti (Tomb No. 27), see Shedid, *Die Felsgräber von Beni Hassan*, fig. 12.

84 Vandier, *Manuel* 5, 58, Montet, *Scènes de la vie privée*, 97. N. Kanawati, 'Bull Fighting in Ancient Egypt', *BACE* 2 (1991), 51-58; J.M. Galán 'Bullfight scenes in Ancient Egyptian Tombs', *JEA* 80 (1994), 81-96; R. van Walsem, 'Sense and Sensibility: On the Analysis and Interpretation of the Iconography Programmes of Four Old Kingdom Elite Tombs' in Fitzenreiter and Herb, (eds.) *Dekorierte Grabanlagen im Alten Reich*, 303-305. For examples see Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 4, figs. 8, 11; Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 32; Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* 1, 60, pl. 43; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 10; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 20; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 7, figs. 3c, 15; Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan*, pls. 22, 24 (QH 34h), pl. 57 (QH35e); Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 52; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 9; Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* 3, figs. 20, 37.

85 Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 10; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 20.

86 Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pls. 12, 18.

87 Griffith and Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 2, pl. 14.

88 Jaroš-Deckert, *Asasif* 5, pl. 18.

89 Blackman, *Meir* 1, pl. 11; Blackman, *Meir* 2, pl. 15.

Musicians, Dancers, Acrobats and Games

Scenes of musicians are found in the tombs of Amenemhat and Khety (Photos 50-51).[90] Harpists, clappers and women holding sistra are prominently depicted and placed near the tomb owner and his wife. Dancers and acrobats are often shown next to one another and regularly precede the dragging of the tomb owner's statue as for example in the tombs of Baqet III, Khety and Amenemhat (Photos 52-53).[91] Scenes of jugglers and acrobats are curiously missing from El-Bersha, however dancers are represented in the tomb of Ahanakht, probably associated with a banquet scene.[92] The tombs of Baqet III and Khety include several acrobats and jugglers, activities usually performed by young girls still with the side-lock of youth (Photos 54-57, 60-62).[93] The artists decorating these tombs illustrate their skill in rendering the difficult positions held by the acrobats and showed considerable freedom of expression in the depiction of these figures (Photo 62). Most importantly, the acrobats are depicted in different positions, allowing the sequence of the moves to be identified (Photo 56). Boys are regularly represented engaging in physical games,[94] the exact purpose of which is not always clear (Photos 59, 63-66). However boys and girls are occasionally playing together as in the tomb of Baqet III (Photo 58).[95]

Warfare, Wrestling and Punishment

The tombs at Beni Hassan are most famous for the scenes of warfare, showing troops from Egypt, Nubia, Asia and perhaps Libya attacking a fortress. A large number of wrestlers usually accompany these scenes and are represented in a variety of moves, which may be training for such confrontations. Scenes of punishing male, and unusually female figures, are also represented at Beni Hassan.

Warfare

In the tombs of Baqet III, Khety and Amenemhat scenes of warfare (Photos 67-74) and wrestling (Photos 75-83) are prominently represented on the east walls immediately opposite the entrance doorway.[96] However, when placed in a chronological order, one notices a gradual decrease in the size of the personnel depicted as well as the amount of wall space devoted to this activity. For example, the tomb of Baqet III shows 220 pairs of wrestlers, Khety represents 122 pairs and Amenemhat depicts only 59 pairs on their respective east walls.[97] In regards to scenes of warfare, the earlier nomarchs including Baqet III and Khety, devote three registers to this theme,

[90] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 12; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 14, 16. See also Davies, *Antefoker*, pls. 23, 27, 29.

[91] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 7, 13; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pl. 13. See also Davies, *Antefoker*, pls. 15, 23.

[92] Griffith and Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 2, pl. 14. See also Wekhhotep (B2) at Meir (Blackman, *Meir* 2, pl. 15). By contrast the tomb of Senbi (B1) at Meir shows musicians and dancers accompanying a scene where gold and precious goods are being presented to the tomb owner (Blackman, *Meir* 1, pl. 2).

[93] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 4, 13.

[94] Harpur, *Decoration*, 111-112; Wenig, *Sport in Ancient Egypt*, 49-59. For Old Kingdom examples see Harpur and Scremin, *The Chapel of Ptahhotep*, 356 [5]; Duell, *Mereruka* 2, pls. 162-163; James, *Khentika*, pl. 11 [lower]; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 38.

[95] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pl. 4.

[96] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 14; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 5, 15. See also Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 157-163.

[97] Wrestlers are only shown on a fragment from the tomb of Neheri at El-Bersha (Griffith and Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 2, pl. 11 [7]) and are omitted in the larger and elaborately decorated tomb of Djehutihotep. Only three pairs of wrestlers are shown in the tomb of Senbi (B1) (Blackman, *Meir* 1, pl. 3), while four pairs are included in the tomb of Wekhhotep (B2) at Meir (Blackman, *Meir* 2, pl. 2).

however Amenemhat reserves just two registers and allocates the third to pilgrimages to Busiris and Abydos by ship.

The Egyptian army during the Middle Kingdom appears to have been comprised of soldiers/mercenaries from Egypt as well as Nubia, Asia and perhaps Libya.[98] The foreigners are differentiated by their skin tone, clothing and adornment as well as their weapons and shields (Photos 67-71, 74).[99] In all three representations the Egyptian army is depicted attacking a fortress, the location of which is unknown, however it is possible that the tomb owner is recording one of the frequently mentioned battles in Amenemhat's biography (Photo 73).[100] All three fortresses are of similar appearance with bastions and loop holes for archers, large gateways[101] and a rampart to prevent a siege engine with wheels approaching the high walls of the fortress (Photos 67, 73). As a result, the attacking army in each instance shows several men protected by what appears to be a form of *testudo*, a kind of moveable shelter later used by the Romans for protection in siege operations. The soldiers represented at Beni Hassan use a long spear to reach above the fortress walls (Photo 67) as well as bows and arrows in their attack (Photos 67, 69). In the tombs of Baqet III and Khety casualties from the fighting are also depicted and piled up at some distance from the attack (Photo 72).

Wrestling

Wrestling was rarely depicted in Old Kingdom tombs, with the only known example being found in the chapel of Ptahhotep II at Saqqara.[102] In this depiction there are six pairs of wrestlers, who appear to be young boys based on the inclusion of a side-lock. However, at Beni Hassan the wrestling scenes are regularly placed above the scenes of warfare, and because of the unusually large number of wrestlers it is possible to link this activity to the physical training of the army personnel.[103] The pairs of wrestlers are represented in varied positions and holds, with no two pairs being identical (Photos 75-83). When the bodies of two wrestlers are entwined the figures can be shown in two different shades of red (Photos 77-79) or by outlining the individual limbs in a lighter colour of red (Photos 82-83). These two different techniques employed by the artist to differentiate the figures are represented in the same tomb, which may indicate that more than one artist decorated a tomb chapel.[104]

[98] On the organization of the military see R.O. Faulkner, 'Egyptian Military Organization', *JEA* 39 (1953), 32-47; H.G. Fischer, 'The Nubian Mercenaries of Gebelein during the First Intermediate Period', *Kush* 9 (1961), 44-80.

[99] See also the tomb of Djehutihotep at El-Bersha, which represents Nubians carrying weapons and shields (Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pls. 12-13, 20, 24, 29). Shields and weapons are also shown at Meir (Blackman, *Meir* 1, pl. 3), Thebes (Jaroš-Deckert, *Asasif* 5, pl.14) and El-Bersha (Willems, *Dayr al-Barshā*, pls. 49, 55).

[100] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, 25-26. Compare with the scene in the tomb of Ini-itef at Thebes (Jaroš-Deckert, *Asasif* 5, pl. 17) and Setka at Aswan (Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan*, pl. 74). The only known examples of warfare in the Old Kingdom are found in the late Fifth Dynasty tomb of Kaemheset at Saqqara (McFarlane, *Saqqara Mastabas*, pl. 48) and the early Sixth Dynasty tomb of Inti at Deshasha (Kanawati and McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pls. 26-27).

[101] Jaroš-Deckert, *Asasif* 5, pl. 17, folded plate 1. Kemp, *Anatomy*, 235. Contrary to the scenes at Beni Hassan, the fortress shown in the tomb of Ini-itef at Thebes is defended by men of lighter skin, possibly by Asiatics.

[102] Harpur and Scremin, *The Chapel of Ptahhotep*, 357 [6]. See also Wenig, *Sport in Ancient Egypt*, 15-23.

[103] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 14-16; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 5, 15, 32. In the tomb of Senbi (B1) this theme is represented in a register immediately below a series of foreign weapons and shields (Blackman, *Meir* 1, pl. 3). However, Wekhhotep (B2) at Meir shows the scene amongst offering bearers (Blackman, *Meir* 2, pl. 2).

[104] Compare Photos 75-76 with 77-78 from the tomb of Amenemhat.

Punishment

Rendering of accounts appeared in many tombs of the Old Kingdom, where the estate managers present their accounts before several scribes and are sometimes held by 'policemen'.[105] Starting from the reign of the Sixth Dynasty king Teti, the offenders are shown being physically punished and beaten with sticks. Such corporal punishment appears both in the Memphite and provincial cemeteries at this time and the men are represented naked and strapped to whipping posts.[106] By contrast, examples of punishment in provincial cemeteries dating to the late Sixth Dynasty show a slightly different composition, where the culprits are stretched out on the ground, held by two men and are beaten by a third.[107] Scenes of punishment are found in the tomb of Baqet III (Photos 84-88),[108] where herdsmen are brought forward and required to account for certain numbers of oxen or goats (Photos 84-85, 88) and is followed by a scene of corporal punishment. The culprit was held to the ground by three men, a stick was placed under his chin to lift his head above his shoulders and a third man beats him with another stick (Photos 86-87). In one instance the herdsman is accompanied by a young boy, perhaps an assistant (Photo 85). There is no evidence of corporal punishment in the tombs at El-Bersha, however several men are brought forward for judgment in front of Djehutihotep immediately before a procession of large bulls.[109] In contrast to the Old Kingdom where males were only punished, Baqet III's tomb shows an unusual instance of a woman holding an infant and about to be struck with a stick (Photo 89). The reason for her punishment is unknown and behind her an elderly woman is represented with a walking stick and sagging breasts.[110]

Foreigners

In the Old Kingdom foreigners are represented in royal monuments such as in the funerary complexes of Sahure, Unis or Pepy II. In these scenes foreigners are usually in postures of supplication before the monarchs of Egypt, presenting various goods and commodities or are bound with ropes in submission.[111] Nubians infrequently appear in elite tombs and were probably in the service of the tomb owners.[112] As mentioned in Chapter 1, the well-known official Weni led the Egyptian army into Syria/Palestine during the reign of Pepy I, which included troops from Nubia and also Libya.[113] Equally, towards the end of the Old Kingdom and during the First Intermediate Period, Nubians were employed by the two warring divisions of the country, especially by the Thebans.[114]

[105] Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cemetery* 2, pls. 53e, 55; Duell, *Mereruka* 1, pl. 37. The men conducting the offenders are frequently labeled *sȝ pr.w* 'sa peru', commonly translated as policemen. (Jones, *Index* 2, 798 [2908]).

[106] Duell, *Mereruka* 1, pl. 37; James, *Khentika*, pl. 9; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 55.

[107] Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, pls. 50, 70; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 9.

[108] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pl. 7.

[109] Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pls. 12, 18.

[110] For other representations of elderly women see Fischer, *Egyptian Women*, 39, fig. 30; McFarlane, *Saqqara Mastabas*, pl. 48.

[111] Borchardt, *Sȝḥu-Reʿ*, 2, pls. 5-8, 12; Labrousse and Moussa, *La chaussée du complexe funéraire du roi Ounas*, figs. 16-18, 27; Jéquier, *Pepi II* 3, pls. 12-14, 18, 36-37.

[112] See for example the tombs of Seshathotep and Nesutnefer (Kanawati, *Giza* 2, pls. 45, 53).

[113] See Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 101-102; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* 1, 19.

[114] J. Vandier, 'Quelques stèles de soldats de la Première Période Intermédiaire', *Chronique d'Égypte* 17 [35] (1943), 21-29; H.G. Fischer, 'The Nubian Mercenaries of Gebelein during the First Intermediate Period', *Kush* 9 (1961), 44-80.

Asiatics are represented in many Egyptian tombs of the Middle Kingdom[115] and it is possible that the weakening central authority during the First Intermediate Period encouraged Asiatics to travel and immigrate to the Nile valley.[116] The best preserved example is attested on the north wall of the tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hassan (Photos 90-102 and Figure 9 in Chapter 1).[117] The accompanying inscriptions describe the group as 'Aamu', which the Egyptian texts describe as 'Sand-dwellers' rather than belonging to a specific geographical location.[118] The inscriptions mention that the group is formed of 37 people, who were presented to Khnumhotep II by Neferhotep, an Egyptian scribe, who held the title 'scribe of the royal documents' (Photos 90-91).[119] Their arrival in Egypt is dated to year 6 of the reign of king Senwosret II as recorded on the document presented to Khnumhotep II. The foreigners are led by a man with the title 'ruler of the foreign land' whose name is Ibsha (Photos 90-92). The representation illustrates the group bringing various items to the province including desert animals and cranes, musical instruments and they also carry weapons. However, it is interesting that the texts mention only that the Asiatics brought black eye paint. It has been debated whether these foreigners came as subjugated people, traders or immigrants to Egypt, however the fact that the group includes men, women and children (Photos 97-100) may indicate they were immigrants coming to settle in Egypt or at least to be employed. Such an interpretation agrees with the many Asiatics represented in the scenes of the Egyptian army (Photos 68, 74). The artists were able to clearly distinguish the foreigners from Egyptians, emphasising their characteristic features such as their lighter skin colour, the style of their hair, beard, the hooked nose or their blue/grey eye colour (Photos 93-94) as well as their extremely elaborate and colourful clothing (Photos 92, 95-96, 99).[120]

Transportation

The pilgrimage to Abydos in the south or Busiris in the Delta is a theme frequently represented at Beni Hassan and is attested in the tombs of Amenemhat, Khnumhotep II and Khety.[121] The scene in Khety's tomb represents two registers of ships travelling in different directions, but with no accompanying inscriptions (Photos 106-107). In one of the ships heading north, the tomb owner sits in the cabin with an attendant bowing in front of him (Photo 108). The two Twelfth Dynasty tombs of Amenemhat and Khnumhotep II show the pilgrimage on the east wall and the inscriptions clearly identify the destination of the ships, with those travelling south towards Abydos having their sails up and towing a papyriform boat that contains the tomb owner's coffin (Photos 103-104).[122] Both scenes show a papyriform boat being towed by one or two larger sailing ships with the white anthropoid coffin placed on a bier under a canopy and attended

[115] See Khnumhotep I for Asiatics appearing as immigrants and members of the Egyptian army in Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 47.

[116] For a discussion of this complex issue see Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 63-82; D.B. Redford, 'Egypt and Western Asia in the Old Kingdom,' *JARCE* 23 (1986), 125-143; B. Kemp, 'Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period' in Trigger, Kemp, O'Connor and Lloyd, (eds.) *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, 137-149; R.O. Faulkner, 'The Rebellion in the Hare Nome', *JEA* 30 (1944), 61-63; H. Frankfort, 'Egypt and Syria in the First Intermediate Period', *JEA* 12 (1926), 80-99; Ward, *Studies in Egyptian Foreign Relations during the First Intermediate Period*, passim.

[117] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 30, 38.

[118] Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 130.

[119] For an examination of the scene and texts see H. Goedicke, 'Abi-Sha(i)'s Representation at Beni Hasan,' *JARCE* 21 (1984), 203-210.

[120] For more on the representation of the foreigners see W.H. Shea, 'Artistic Balance among the Beni Hasan Asiatics', *The Biblical Archaeologist* 44 [4] (1981), 219-228; H.G. Fischer, 'Notes on Sticks and Staves in Ancient Egypt', *MMJ* 13 (1978), 9-14.

[121] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 14, 16, 29; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pl. 12.

[122] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 14, 29. A similar scene may be depicted in the tomb of Djehutihotep at El-Bersha (Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pls. 12, 18) and Antefoker at Thebes (Davies, *Antefoker*, pls. 18-19).

to by several officials.[123] The south side of the east wall in Amenemhat's tomb represents the corresponding voyage to Busiris.[124] In one ship we notice that several women are seated in the cabin, while in the other a series of oarsmen stand on the deck pulling on the oars to propel the boat northward on the current of the river.[125]

The transportation of the statue of the tomb owner in a shrine is frequently depicted in the Old Kingdom as for example in the tomb of Hetepherakhti at Saqqara.[126] Usually such scenes represent the statue on a sledge surrounded by a shrine along with several individuals accompanying the statue, including lector priests or even dancers to perform specific rituals and ceremonies. The transportation of the statue in this manner is depicted in the tombs of Baqet III, Khety, Amenemhat and also Khnumhotep II at Beni Hassan (Photos 109-110).[127] The wood grain detail of the surrounding shrine is particularly well rendered and painted in bright colours. The scenes at Beni Hassan are quite different to the prominent depiction of this activity in the tomb of Djehutihotep at El-Bersha, where four registers of 43 men are shown to be dragging the colossal statue of the tomb owner from Hatnub.[128]

Professions and Workshops

The various types of professions undertaken by the people living in the province are commonly included in the tombs at Beni Hassan and range from the manufacture of sandals and pottery vessels to wine production, storage of wheat in granaries and boatmen returning from the marshes. These scenes provide a unique insight into the daily life of the Egyptians living in the region as well as the types of activities elite officials considered important to commemorate and record in their tombs.

Crafts and Artists at Work

Craftsmen in a workshop environment are frequently depicted in the Old Kingdom, with the most extensive scenes being in the Fifth Dynasty tombs of Ti and Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep at Saqqara.[129] In each tomb, craftsmen fashion different objects out of metal such as a ewer and basin for placement in the tomb as well as making wooden beds, chests and statues or even stone vessels and sarcophagi.[130] Various types of crafts are depicted in the tombs of Amenemhat,

[123] For a comparison with Old Kingdom examples and a discussion on the significance of the scene see H. Junker, 'Der Tanz der *Mww* und das Butische Begräbnis im Alten Reich', *MDAIK* 9 (1940), 1-39; J.A. Wilson, 'Funeral Services of the Egyptian Old Kingdom', *JNES* 3 [4] (1944), 201-218; Hassan, *Gîza* 4, 69-102; Blackman, *Meir* 5, 50-56; H. Altenmüller, 'Bestattung', *LÄ* 1, 744-745; H. Altenmüller, 'Bestattungsritual', *LÄ* 1, 745-764; A.O. Bolshakov, 'The Old Kingdom Representations of Funeral Procession', *GM* 121 (1991) 31-54; Bolshakov, *Man and his Double*, 95-105; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, 21-22; N. Kanawati, 'The Living and the Dead in Old Kingdom Tomb Scenes', *SAK* 9 (1981), 224-225.

[124] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 16.

[125] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 16, 29.

[126] Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, fig. 3. See also Hassan, *Gîza* 4, fig. 122; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pls. 11, 15; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cemetery 2*, pl. 38; Duell, *Mereruka* 1, pls. 39, 97 [A]; Davies et al, *Saqqâra Tombs* 1, pl. 30.

[127] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 13, 29; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 8, 13.

[128] Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pls. 12, 15; H. Willems, C. Peeters and G. Verstraeten, 'Where did Djehutihotep erect his colossal statue?', *ZÄS* 132 (2005), 173-189.

[129] Épron and Wild, *Ti* 3, pls. 123-124; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum, pls. 62-64*.

[130] See for example Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 5; Hassan, *Gîza* 2, fig. 219; Weeks, *G6000 Cemetery*, fig. 30; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pl. 20; Simpson, *Kawab*, fig. 50; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, pls. 53, 72; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pl. 63; Duell, *Mereruka* 1, pls. 29-30; Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 29.

Baqet III and Khety at Beni Hassan (Photos 111-141).[131] The two Eleventh Dynasty tombs depict a variety of arts and crafts such as the manufacture of wooden staffs (Photos 126-127); the production of ceramic vessels; artists painting a brightly coloured shrine and also a statue (Photos 128-129) as well as the weighing and smelting of metal (Photos 136-137). As mentioned in Chapter 1, a unique representation is found in the tomb of Baqet III, where a master artist teaches an apprentice how to draw a calf and also a dog attacking a Nubian ibex (Photos 130-131).[132] Both Baqet III and Khety's tombs represent the various stages of making linen items including the spinning of the thread (Photos 132-135, 138-139), washing and wringing dry the products (Photo 134) and stretching out the items (Photo 135).[133] Khety's tomb shows one of the best examples of a loom from the period, with a male figure weaving a brightly coloured cloth (Photo 141) and possibly also the manufacture of a fishing net (Photo 140).[134]

On the north side of the west wall of Amenemhat's tomb, there are five registers showing various types of arts and crafts (Photos 111-125). The scene is the most extensive in the cemetery and depicts different types of wooden furniture being manufactured such as a bed (Photo 112) or a chest (Photo 113) in addition to the production of sandals (Photo 114),[135] arrows (Photo 115)[136] and flint knives (Photo 116).[137] Another scene shows ingots of metal being weighed on a set of scales and a scribe recording the results (Photos 118-119). The craft scene in Amenemhat's tomb also represents the production of ceramic vessels on a low wheel and the placement of these in the kiln for firing (Photos 120-123), a motif which is also included in the tomb of Djehutihotep at El-Bersha.[138]

Gardening and Viticulture

Gardens in the Old Kingdom are often shown as being rectangular in shape, frequently with several dividers for the placement of individual plants such as a lettuce, and are clearly seen in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasty tombs of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep, Neferherenptah as well as Mereruka at Saqqara.[139] Gardening is also depicted in the chapels of Amenemhat and Khnumhotep II at Beni Hassan.[140] The tomb of Amenemhat also shows a lettuce growing in similarly constructed beds (Photo 142),[141] while grapes are being gathered from a vineyard in the region (Photos 143-145).[142] Although the branches are shown in brown and the vine leaves in green, the grapes are coloured in blue. A detail illustrating the skill of the Egyptian artist can be seen in the depiction of the two men beneath the arbor, where the leaves realistically cover parts

[131] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 11, 29; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 4, 7, 13.

[132] See M. Lashien, 'Artists' Training in the Old and Middle Kingdoms', *GM* (2010), forthcoming. For a similar scene see the Old Kingdom tomb of Nyankhpepy at Zawiyet el-Maiyitin (Varille, *Ni-ankh-Pepi*, pls. 10-11).

[133] See also Khnumhotep II (Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 29) and Djehutihotep at El-Bersha (Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pls. 24, 26).

[134] Shedid also suggests the latter action is the production of nets (Shedid, *Die Felsgräber von Beni Hassan*, 36, fig. 52).

[135] See also the tomb of Ini-itef at Thebes (Jaroš-Deckert, *Asasif* 5, pl. 13).

[136] Compare with the Old Kingdom tomb of Khuenes at Zawiyet el-Mayitin (Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, 108).

[137] Such scenes are not shown at Meir, however the tomb of Senbi (B1) depicts the manufacture of stone vessels and also the manufacture of wooden items (Blackman, *Meir* 1, pl. 5).

[138] Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pls. 24-25.

[139] Harpur, *Decoration*, 111. Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, fig. 8; Kanawati and Woods, *Artists in the Old Kingdom*, Photo 211; Duell, *Mereruka* 1, pl. 21.

[140] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 11, 29.

[141] See also Djehutihotep at El-Bersha (Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pls. 24, 26).

[142] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 29. See also Davies, *Antefoker*, pl. 15.

of their figures (Photo 144). The tomb of Khnumhotep II includes a unique motif, where men pick figs from a tree with the help of three monkeys (Photos 146-147)! This detail is omitted from the line drawings of Newberry, however one monkey in particular is either putting or taking a fig from the hand of the attendant.

The production of wine is a theme frequently depicted in the Old Kingdom and normally includes the different stages such as the treading of the grapes in a vat by several men, squeezing all the juice from the grapes in a large sack and pouring the liquid into containers for storage.[143] These main steps are also depicted at Beni Hassan and found in the tombs of Baqet III (Photo 148), Khety (Photos 149-151) and Amenemhat.[144] While the sack containing the crushed grapes is usually squeezed by turning a wooden pole at either end of the sack (Photos 149-150), a different process is represented in the tomb of Baqet III. This scene shows one side of the sack being fixed to a wooden structure, while men twist the pole attached to the other side of the sack (Photo 148). This type of pressing machine became common in the New Kingdom, but appears for the first time at Beni Hassan.[145] In Khety's tomb the artists found some difficulty in positioning the attendants squeezing juice from the sack using two wooden poles, as they are not all standing on the baseline that is customary for human figures (Photo 150).[146] In addition, a scribe is depicted adjacent to several men pouring wine into jars and appears to be recording the quantities produced (Photo 151). The fine outline on the scribe's body is an excellent example of the technique used by the Egyptian artist to differentiate the limbs from the torso of the figure, which were painted in the same dark red colour.

Granaries

Granaries are frequently represented in Old Kingdom tombs and even sometimes provide inscriptions to indicate the specific type of grain stored within.[147] On the south wall of Khety's tomb, two rows of ten granaries are represented in yellow with several men carrying sacks of grain up the stairs to be placed into the silos for storage (Photos 152-153).[148] Amenemhat's tomb also depicts seven silos on the north wall with a series of men carrying containers up the stairs.[149] Granaries are curiously missing from the Middle Kingdom tombs at El-Bersha, which perhaps emphasises the wealth of the province of Beni Hassan.[150]

Personal Grooming

Scenes of personal grooming are rarely attested in Old Kingdom tombs, with only a few examples of an individual having a manicure, pedicure or their hair attended to.[151] A most unusual scene

143 See for example Weeks, *G6000 Cemetery*, fig. 38; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pl. 39; Bárta, *Abusir* 5, fig. 3.18; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pls. 1, 8, 12; Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex* 1, fig. 56; Duell, *Mereruka* 2, pls. 113-114; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 53; Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 20.

144 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 12; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 6, 16.

145 P. Montet, 'Notes sur les tombeaux de Béni Hasan', *BIFAO* 9 (1911), 9, n. 1. The same method is also shown in the tomb of Khnumhotep I (Tomb No. 14), Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 46.

146 Schäfer, *Principles*, 200-202. For a similar rendering see Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pls. 24, 31.

147 R. Siebels, 'Representations of Granaries in Old Kingdom Tombs', *BACE* 12 (2001), 85-99. Granaries reached by stairs are commonly represented in provincial tombs during the late Old Kingdom, see Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* 3, pls. 28, 31, 36.

148 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pl. 17.

149 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 13.

150 Such scenes are also attested at Thebes and Aswan, see Jaroš-Deckert, *Asasif* 5, pls. 15, 18; Davies, *Antefoker*, pl. 15; Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan*, pl. 22.

151 Vandier, *Manuel* 4, 171ff.; Harpur, *Decoration*, 112-113. See also Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, fig. 10; Harpur and Scremin, *The Chapel of Ptahhotep*, 354 [3]; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cemetery*

is represented in the tombs of Baqet III and Khety at Beni Hassan,[152] possibly showing several male figures having a haircut/shave (Photos 154-155). In each instance one male figure sits on a stool, while the one receiving attention is kneeling on the ground. The hieroglyphic inscriptions adjacent to the scenes indicate the action of the barber as 'shaving' the head of the male figure.[153] A second caption in the tomb of Baqet III is more specific and states 'performing the cutting', perhaps referring to cutting the hair prior to shaving.

Fowling and Boatmen

During the Middle Kingdom the tomb owners begin to show themselves catching birds with a clapnet, however minor figures engaged in this activity continue to be depicted. In earlier periods, numerous tombs include one or even two clapnet scenes showing two stages of the movement: in the first several men are poised and ready to pull the net closed and in the second the men are shown flat on their backs after the action.[154] Minor figures using a clapnet are seen in the tombs of Khety, Baqet III, Amenemhat and Khnumhotep II (Photo 156).[155] Khnumhotep II's tomb represents two clapnets, however they do not represent the 'before' and 'after' the capture. Rather one scene shows the net near a pond that is full of the same species of duck and appears to be placed in the marshlands near a papyrus thicket, while the other net is close to agricultural land. The scene is positioned adjacent to a fowl yard, suggesting the birds were captured and possibly housed for fattening and eating. Scenes of fishermen using a dragnet to catch fish are frequently represented in the Old Kingdom[156] and continued to be included in the tombs at Beni Hassan, El-Bersha, Meir and Thebes.[157]

Another theme commonly found in the Old Kingdom is the representation of boatmen,[158] who are either returning from the marshlands with various types of food items, such as fish and fowl, or playing a kind of game where the men on one boat try to push those on another off the papyrus skiffs. Several men are often depicted in the water straddling two papyrus skiffs,[159] which would be a rather dangerous position given the frequency of crocodiles in the waterways! This theme was continued in the Middle Kingdom[160] and Khnumhotep II shows an excellent example on the east wall (south of the shrine) immediately below the tomb owner spearing fish (Photos

2, pl. 70; Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 2, pl. 55a; Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 9, pl. 48; James, *Khentika*, pl. 11.

152 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 4, 13.

153 P. Montet, 'Notes sur les tombeaux de Béni Hasan', *BIFAO* 9 (1911), 15.

154 Harpur, *Decoration*, 141-144. For examples see Schürmann, *Ii-nefert*, figs. 8a, b; Épron and Wild, *Ti* 2, pl. 122; Davies, *Ptahhetep*, pl. 21; Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 2, pl. 42; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 7.

155 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 12, 30; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 7, 12. See also the tombs of Antefoker at Thebes (Davies, *Antefoker*, pl. 5) as well as Wekhhotep (B2) (Blackman, *Meir* 2, pl. 4) and Wekhhotep (C1) at Meir, the last of which shows a unique depiction of a group of women performing the activity (Blackman, *Meir* 6, pl. 11).

156 Harpur, *Decoration*, 145-148. See for example Weeks, *G6000 Cemetery*, fig. 40; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pls. 1, 4; Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, fig. 29; Badawy, *Iteti*, fig. 17; van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pl. 13; Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex* 1, figs. 114-16; Duell, *Mereruka* 1, pl. 55; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 6, pl. 47; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 5; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 12.

157 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 12, 32. See also Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pls. 20, 22; Blackman, *Meir* 3, pl. 8; Jaroš-Deckert, *Asasif* 5, pls. 16, 20; Davies, *Antefoker*, pl. 5.

158 Harpur, *Decoration*, 153-155.

159 Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex* 1, figs. 38-39; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pls. 10-11; Épron and Wild, *Ti* 2, pls. 76 [A, B], 111; Weeks, *G6000 Cemetery*, fig. 40; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 67; Varille, *Ni-ankh-Pepi*, fig. 2, pl. 6; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 5.

160 See for example Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pl. 9; Blackman, *Meir* 1, pls. 3-4.

157-158).[161] In this scene, three papyrus skiffs are depicted carrying several men and punters to propel the boat forwards in the marshes. One man has fallen from the boat and is almost in the water with his fellow comrades attempting to help him out of the water.[162] An interesting detail is noted in the rendering of the fallen man's body. Although the scene is in an excellent state of preservation and very clear, Newberry's line drawing shows the man's left leg as being complete. However examination of the wall indicates that the lower portion of the leg is in fact missing (Photo 158)!

The harvesting of papyrus in the marshlands was represented in the Old Kingdom, however usually only with one register showing the thicket, and was sometimes associated with a larger marsh scene where figures pull stems from the thicket and bundle them up with ropes.[163] This theme is continued at Meir[164] and is also in the tombs of Khety and Baqet III at Beni Hassan where several figures remove the stems of the papyrus plant from the water (Photo 159).[165] Khety's scene shows several registers of papyrus plants immediately before the tomb owner spearing fish. However in this representation the water is not blue as in other tombs, but rather orange with red horizontal zig-zag detail, perhaps accurately showing the muddy nature of the papyrus thickets.

Animals, Animal Husbandry and Mythical creatures

The care for different animals and birds is frequently represented in the tombs at Beni Hassan, which demonstrates the artists' ability to accurately portray the natural world as well as the behavioural characteristics of individual species.

Cattle and Oxen

A main method of measuring the wealth of an individual or province in Old and Middle Kingdom Egypt was in the amount and type of resources available to each, usually in terms of land and livestock.[166] Accordingly cattle and oxen are commonly represented in the tombs of the period together with a list of the exact quantities of the different herds. The Sixth Dynasty tomb of Pepyankh-heryib at Meir lists some extraordinary numbers of cattle in his possession, more than 760,000 head![167] Similarly large numbers of cattle are shown in the tombs of Amenemhat, Baqet III and Khety as well as the herdsmen caring for them (Photos 160-168).[168] As in the Middle

---

161 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 34.

162 Compare with the tomb of Baqet III (Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pl. 4) and also Wekhhotep (B2) at Meir (Blackman, *Meir* 2, pl. 4).

163 Harpur, *Decoration*, 149-151. Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, pl. 2; Ziegler, *Le mastaba d'Akhethetep*, 79; Simpson, *Kayemnofret*, pl. A; Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pls. 11-12. For Old Kingdom examples of the papyrus harvest see Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pls. 1, 5; Moussa and Junge, *Two Tombs of Craftsmen*, pls. 11, 13; Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, fig. 27; Davies, *Ptahhetep* 2, pls. 13-14; Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 12; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 14; El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 47-8, pls. 37-38; Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 30.

164 In the tomb of Wekhhotep (B2) several men bundle the harvest together and transport it on their backs presumably to make papyrus skiffs (Blackman, *Meir* 2, pls. 3-4). Transportation is only seen in the tomb of Wekhhotep (B4) at Meir (Blackman, *Meir* 3, pl. 4).

165 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 4, 11.

166 N. Weeks, ' "Care" of Officials in the Egyptian Old Kingdom', *Chronique d'Égypte* 53 [115-116] (1983), 5-22. For accounts of personal investment, payment of artists/craftsmen and royal patronage in the Old Kingdom see Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 251-260; A.M. Roth, 'The Practical Economics of Tomb Building in the Old Kingdom' in Silverman (ed.), *For his Ka*, 227-40; C. Eyre, 'Work in the Old Kingdom' in Powell (ed.), *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, 20-24.

167 Blackman, *Meir* 4, 43, pl. 16.

168 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 13, 17; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 4, 7, 12, 14, 17. See also Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pls. 12, 18; Blackman, *Meir* 1, pls. 10-11.

Kingdom tombs at Meir, herdsmen who are elderly;[169] emaciated, even showing the outline of the rib-cage;[170] or deformed are depicted at Beni Hassan (Photos 162-163, 168).[171] The stiff reed garment the elderly herdsman wears is reminiscent of the clothing worn by the governors at El-Bersha.[172] A unique scene in the tomb of Baqet III depicts a calf suckling alongside a small boy who is also drinking from the cow's udder (Photo 164), which is possibly also represented in the tomb of Ahanahkt at El-Bersha.[173]

Oryx

The tomb of Khnumhotep II shows a series of desert animals accompanied by a keeper, suggesting that they have been domesticated.[174] One man in particular is trying to hold down a strong oryx (Photo 169), while the desert hunt scene in the tomb of Baqet III shows two oryx mating (Photo 170).[175] The Egyptian artist's ability to accurately represent animals in their natural environment is quite remarkable and illustrates their great skill in the painted detail in the tomb of Khnumhotep II.

Donkeys

Donkeys prominently appear in Old Kingdom tombs and can carry loads of wheat to granaries or tread grain in agricultural scenes.[176] While such scenes are certainly also found in the Middle Kingdom (Photo 178), the artists decorating the tombs of Khnumhotep II, Baqet III and Khety at Beni Hassan show the species in a different light.[177] Here the donkeys are depicted sometimes rolling on the ground on their backs (Photo 171), mating (Photo 177), in a herd suckling their young (Photos 174-175) or following their young who are being held by a herdsman (Photo 173). The last posture is rarely found in earlier periods but can be seen for example in the tomb of Mery-aa (D18) at El-Hagarsa.[178] The officials in this province are dated to the very end of the Old Kingdom and possibly record the large herds of donkeys as an indicator of their wealth. Thus, Mery (C2) refers to his possession of over 20,000 asses,[179] while Mery-aa (D18) mentions 'a good count of a very great many asses', without specifying the exact numbers.[180] An interesting detail is seen in the tomb of Khety (Photo 178) where the colour of the donkey is rather different from the normal orange shown in the tombs of Baqet III or Amenemhat. The donkeys are painted in a 'pink' hue, which is similar to those from the Old Kingdom tombs in the provinces of Akhmim and also Meir.[181]

---

169 Blackman, *Meir* 1, pl. 10.

170 See Wekhhotep (B2) at Meir (Blackman, *Meir* 2, pls. 6, 11).

171 For deformed herdsmen in the Old Kingdom see the tombs of Idut and Ptahhotep at Saqqara (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cemetery* 2, pl. 71; Harpur and Scremin, *The Chapel of Ptahhotep*, 361 [10]). See also the Middle Kingdom tombs of Djehutihotep at El-Bersha (Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pls. 12, 18); Senbi (B1) (Blackman, *Meir* 1, pl. 9); Wekhhotep (B2) (Blackman, *Meir* 2, pl. 3); Wekhhotep (B4) at Meir (Blackman, *Meir* 3, pls. 3-4).

172 Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pl. 7. See also the herdsmen at this site (Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pls. 12, 18).

173 Griffith and Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 2, pl. 14.

174 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 30.

175 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pl. 4. See the presentation of an oryx in the tomb of Wekhhotep (B2) at Meir (Blackman, *Meir* 2, pl. 11).

176 Harpur, *Decoration*, 159-164. See for example Duell, *Mereruka* 2, pls. 168-170.

177 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 30; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 7, 17.

178 Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* 3, pl. 40.

179 Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* 3, pl. 43.

180 Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* 3, pl. 40.

181 Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 16; Hope and McFarlane, *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom* 2, 218.

Goats in Trees

During the Old Kingdom, goats are frequently shown on their hind legs trying to nibble the fruits and foliage of a tree[182] and this theme continued at Beni Hassan in the tomb of Khety (Photos 179-181).[183] Here a herdsman is shown carrying a sack over his shoulder and interestingly includes an animal hide, possibly containing water, hanging from the branch of a nearby tree (Photo 179).

Dogs

Pet animals are commonly depicted accompanying the tomb owner on his various daily activities in the Old Kingdom and are occasionally named or placed beneath the tomb owner's chair. The species commonly shown in earlier periods are the greyhound or hunting *tsm*[184] and a rare scene depicts a litter of puppies suckling in the tomb of Djau at Deir el-Gebrawi.[185] The tombs at Beni Hassan represent a number of dogs, which are of different species and show elaborate painted detail (Photos 182-185).[186] The tomb of Khety shows the back and mid section of one dog as having uniform spots in the same shade of red as the rest of its coat (Photo 185). A dog with similar spotted detail is also depicted in several Old Kingdom tombs at Deir el-Gebrawi and Meir,[187] however the uniform nature of the detail in Khety's tomb is highly unusual if it were an accurate representation of the dog's coat.

Monkeys, Baboons, Cats and Mice

The tomb of Baqet III shows an unusual combination of animals on the south wall next to the entrance to the shrine (Photos 186-189).[188] Here a cat and mouse are facing one another on a short register, while one pair of monkeys with offspring and also one pair of baboons are on the lower register. The hieroglyphs simply provide the species of the animal and do not give any indication of the purpose of the scene. A fragment in the tomb of Neheri at El-Bersha shows a similar scene with several baboons and monkeys along with a mythical creature and again only lists the species of the respective animals.[189]

Birds

The birds at Beni Hassan are painted with outstanding accuracy and attention to detail, to the extent that the exact species of each bird can be identified (Photos 190-203). The birds are often shown flying or sitting on the branches of a tree near a clapnet or trap of some kind as in the tombs of Khnumhotep II (Photos 191-196), Baqet III (Photos 197-198) and Khety (Photos 199-203).[190]

---

182 Harpur, *Decoration*, 110-111; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pls. 1, 4, 18-19; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, fig. 8; Ziegler, *Le mastaba d'Akhethetep*, 137-139; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 46; Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 14; Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 32; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, pls. 52, 71; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 15; Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs at Thebes*, pl. 18.

183 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pl. 12. See also Jaroš-Deckert, *Asasif* 5, pl. 19.

184 Brewer, Clark and Phillips, *Dogs in Antiquity: Anubis to Cerberus*, 32-3; Osborn and Osbornová, *The Mammals of Ancient Egypt*, 57-60. For an example of this kind of dog in a Middle Kingdom tomb see Arnold, *El-Tarif*, pl. 53. We would like to thank Ms. Beverley Miles for drawing our attention to these references.

185 Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pls. 4, 15.

186 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 13, 30; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 4, 14, 16-17, 22a. For a similar type of dog see the tomb of Djehutihotep at El-Bersha (Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pls. 24, 29).

187 Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pls. 4, 15; Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 12.

188 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pl. 6

189 Griffith and Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 2, pl. 11 [5].

190 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pls. 30, 32-35; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 6-7, 14, 16.

Mythical animals

Mythical animals appear on Egyptian monuments as early as the Pre- and Early Dynastic Periods,[191] however these are curiously absent from Old Kingdom elite tomb decoration. The closest examples may be found in the rendering of the king as a sphinx or with the body of a lion together with the wings and head of a falcon, which is shown in the funerary complexes of Sahure and Pepy II at Abusir and Saqqara respectively.[192] Perhaps with the influence of foreigners from the Levant region from the First Intermediate Period onwards, mythical animals were re-introduced into the repertoire of scenes. The best preserved examples at Beni Hassan are found in the desert hunt scenes in the tombs of Khnumhotep II (Photo 204), Baqet III (Photos 205-206) and Khety (Photo 207-209).[193] Khnumhotep II's chapel includes an animal with a spotted coat and a small snake-like head and neck, except that a pair of wings and the head of a human is fixed to its back, whereas Baqet III and Khety show a series of mythical creatures combining the attributes of strong animals such as a lion with the head and wings of a bird (Photos 206-207).[194] On the south wall of Khety's tomb, an unusual creature is shown immediately in front of the tomb owner's face (Photos 208-209).[195] Here, Khety stands with his wife and pet dog before an offering list as well as scenes of military activities including foreign mercenaries. The animal wears an intricately box-hatched collar, combines the head of a falcon with the tail of the Seth creature, and is painted in bright green and yellow with striped detail on the body.

A brief examination of the themes depicted in the chapels at Beni Hassan indicates that the artists decorating these tombs were aware of the traditions established for the rendering of human figures, the natural world as well as the different professions and activities of the Egyptians in earlier periods. Many of the artistic themes attested in Old Kingdom tombs were continued, such as the tomb owner fishing or fowling in the marshlands or seated on a chair before an offering table. Other scenes follow traditions only found in the provinces such as two bulls locking horns in a fight, however new ideas are incorporated into the decorative scheme. Such themes include the tomb owner as an active figure in a desert hunt and fowling with a clapnet or male figures engaging in personal grooming such as having their heads shaved. The art in the selected Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasty tombs of Baqet III, Khety, Amenemhat and Khnumhotep II at Beni Hassan compares in style and content to those in the tombs of their contemporaries at El-Bersha, Meir, Thebes and Aswan. Yet there appears to be distinct regional variations such as in the types of clothing worn by the tomb owner, the themes included in the tomb's decorative scheme and their arrangement in the tomb. The art at Beni Hassan provides the modern viewer with a unique and rich insight into the daily lives of the elite officials as well as of those living and working in the province.

---

191 See for example the Two Dogs palette or the Narmer palette (Smith, *HESPOK*, 117-118).

192 Borchardt, *S'ahu-Re'*, 2, pl. 8; Jéquier, *Pepi II* 3, pls. 15-16, 18.

193 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 30; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pls. 4, 7, 8, 16.

194 Compare with the tombs at El-Bersha (Griffith and Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 2, pls. 11 [5], 16).

195 Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, pl. 16.

Conclusion

Beni Hassan, the cemetery of the 16th Upper Egyptian province or Oryx-nome, is located within the most agriculturally productive, and accordingly the richest, part of Egypt. The officials who governed the nome during the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties were among the richest and most powerful in the country, holding strong ties with the crown as well as marriage alliances with the nobility in neighbouring provinces to the north and south. The wealth of these officials is reflected in the size, the architectural design as well as the quality and extensive repertoire of artistic themes represented in their tombs. However, as in other provinces, the power and wealth of the officials at Beni Hassan appears to have declined slightly during the reign of Senwosret III in the Twelfth Dynasty.

Following the collapse of the Old Kingdom, the quality and style of art suffered possibly as a result of a lack of clientele to invest in the decoration of tombs. With the re-unification of Egypt at the end of the Eleventh Dynasty, there was a revival in artistic and architectural traditions, which seem to have been influenced by the monuments of the Old Kingdom. A brief examination of elite tomb decoration in the Middle Kingdom clearly demonstrates the continuation of artistic themes such as the tomb owner seated before an offering table or fishing and fowling in the marshlands as well as certain aspects of agricultural pursuits and industries that are attested in earlier tombs. Such similarities may be attributed to a number of factors, including that tomb decoration is a reflection of the life at the time and that the purpose of such decoration was largely the same in both periods. In addition, it appears that the artists decorating Middle Kingdom tombs may have used the art in Old Kingdom temples and tombs as a basis for the composition of the scenes.

With the aim of presenting the reader with an overview of the art and daily life of the people living in the province during the Middle Kingdom, four tombs have been selected with two from the end of the Eleventh Dynasty and two from the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty. This study demonstrates that despite the continuity of earlier artistic traditions, new ideas and motifs were introduced into the tombs' decoration such as the active figure of the tomb owner participating in fowling with a clapnet and hunting in the desert or the representation of mythical animals. Other artistic themes seem to have been expanded upon and are particularly evident in the depiction of warfare and wrestling as well as in the inclusion of certain games and entertainment. Such themes are also included in the decorative scheme in contemporary tombs at other Middle Kingdom cemeteries such as Thebes, Meir and El-Bersha. Whereas Old Kingdom tomb decoration largely portrays themes associated with the interests and responsibilities of the tomb owner, the repertoire of scenes found at Beni Hassan reflects a broader overview of life at the time, including the military achievements of the tomb owner alongside the leisure activities available to the inhabitants of the province. Such a shift in emphasis may be due to the fact that the elite officials buried at Beni Hassan considered the administration of the Oryx-nome as an 'inheritance' rather than simply an official appointment by the king, which is clearly stated in the biographies of Amenemhat and Khnumhotep II.

The site of Beni Hassan provides a particularly rich and well preserved record of art and daily life in the provinces during the Middle Kingdom. Earlier documentation of the site has served the Egyptological community, however it now appears that a detailed examination of the evidence at Beni Hassan has the potential to yield much more information and truly enrich our knowledge of the period.

ABBREVIATIONS

Altenmüller, *Mehu*: H. Altenmüller, *Die Wandarstellungen im Grab des Mehu in Saqqara* (Mainz am Rhein, 1988).

Ancient Egypt: D.P. Silverman (ed.), *Ancient Egypt* (London, 1997).

Ancient Egypt: A Social History: B.G. Trigger – B.J. Kemp – D.O'Connor – A.B. Lloyd (eds.), *Ancient Egypt: A Social History* (Cambridge, 1983).

Arnold, *El-Tarif*: D. Arnold, *Gräber des Alten und Mittleren Reiches in El-Tarif* (Mainz am Rhein, 1976).

BACE: *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology*.

Badawy, *Iteti*: A. Badawy, *The Tombs of Iteti, Sekhemʿankh-Ptah, and Kaemnofert at Giza* (Berkeley, 1976).

Baines and Malek, *Atlas*: J. Baines – J. Malek, *Cultural Atlas of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 2000).

Bárta, *Abusir* 5: M. Bárta, *Abusir 5: The Cemeteries of Abusir South* I (Prague, 2001).

BASOR: *Bulletin of the American Schools of Research in Jerusalem and Baghdad*.

Bietak, *Avaris*: M. Bietak, *Avaris: The Capital of the Hyksos: Recent Excavations at Tell el-Dab'a* (London, 1996).

BIFAO: *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*.

Blackman, *Meir*: A.M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, 6 vols. (London, 1914-53).

Bolshakov, *Man and his Double*: A.O. Bolshakov, *Man and His Double in Egyptian Ideology of the Old Kingdom* (Wiesbaden, 1997).

Borchardt, *S3ḥu-Reʿ*: L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S3ḥu-Reʿ*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1910-1913; repr. Osnabrück, 1981-82).

Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*: J.H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest*, 5 vols. (Chicago, 1906-1907).

Brewer, Clark and Phillips, *Dogs in Antiquity: Anubis to Cerberus*: D.J. Brewer – T. Clark – A. Phillips, *Dogs in Antiquity: Anubis to Cerberus: The Origins of the Domestic Dog* (Warminster, 2002).

Brewer and Friedman, *Fishing in Ancient Egypt*: D.J. Brewer – R.F. Friedman, *Fish and Fishing in Ancient Egypt* (Warminster, 1989).

Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex* 1: E. Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex: The Mastabas of Senedjemib Inti (G2370), Khnumenti (G2374) and Senedjemib Mehi (G2378)*, 2 vols. (Boston, 2001).

Brovarski et al., *Bersheh* 1: E. Brovarksi – R. Freed – D.P. Silverman, *Bersheh Reports 1: Report of the 1990 Field Season of the Joint Expedition of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Leiden University* (Boston, 1992).

Brunner, *Ägyptischen Felsgräber bis zum Mittleren Reich*: H. Brunner, *Die Anlagen der Ägyptischen Felsgräber bis zum Mittleren Reich* (Glückstadt, 1936).

Cambridge Ancient History: *Cambridge Ancient History*, J. Boardman (ed.), 3 vols.

Cohen, *Canaanites, Chronologies and Connections*: S.L. Cohen, *Canaanites, Chronologies and Connections: The Relationship of Middle Bronze IIA Canaan to Middle Kingdom Egypt* (Indiana, 2002).

Davies, *Ptahhetep*: N de G. Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep at Saqqarah*, 2 vols. (London, 1900-1901).

Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*: N de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd* (London, 1901).

Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi*: N de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrâwi*, 2 vols. (London, 1902).

Davies, *Antefoker*: N de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Antefoker, Vizier of Sesostris I and of his Wife, Senet (No. 60)* (London, 1920).

Davies et al, *Saqqâra Tombs* 1: W.V. Davies – A. El-Khouli – A.B. Lloyd – A.J. Spencer, *Saqqâra Tombs 1: The Mastabas of Mereri and Wernu* (London, 1984).

Davis, *Canonical Tradition*: W. Davis, *The Canonical Tradition in Ancient Egyptian Art* (Cambridge and New York, 1989).

DE: *Discussions in Egyptology*.

Decker and Herb, *Bildatlas*: W. Decker – M. Herb, *Bildatlas zum Sport im alten Ägypten: Corpus der bildlichen Quellen zu Leibesübungen, Spiel, Jagd, Tanz und verwandten Themen*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1994).

Dekorierte Grabanlagen im Alten Reich: M. Fitzenreiter – M. Herb (eds.), *Dekorierte Grabanlagen im Alten Reich: Methodik und Interpretation* (London, 2006).

Duell, *Mereruka*: P. Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1938).

Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*: D. Dunham – W.K. Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III: G7530-7540* (Boston, 1974).

Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan*: E. Edel, *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan*, K.J. Seyfried – G. Vieler (eds.), 3 vols. (Paderborn, 2008).

Egyptology and the Social Sciences: K.R. Weeks (ed.), *Egyptology and the Social Sciences: Five Studies* (Cairo, 1979).

Èpron and Wild, *Ti*: L. Épron – H. Wild, *Le tombeau de Ti*, 3 vols. (Cairo, 1939-66).

Fischer, *Dendera*: H.G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millenium BC down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt* (New York, 1968).

Fischer, *Egyptian Women*: H.G. Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and the Heracleopolitan Period* (2nd ed. New York, 2000).

Fisher, *The Middle East*: W.B. Fisher, *The Middle East: A Physical, Social and Regional Geography* (London, 1971).

For his Ka: D. Silverman (ed.), *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer* (SAOC 55, Chicago, 1994).

Gamer-Wallert, *Fischkulte im alten Ägypten*: I. Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte im alten Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1970).

Garstang, *Burial Customs*: J. Garstang, *The Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt as illustrated by Tombs of the Middle Kingdom* (London, 1907).

GM: *Göttinger Miszellen: Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion*.

Griffith and Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 2: F.L. Griffith – P.E. Newberry, *El-Bersheh*, vol. 2 (London, 1894).

Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*: R. Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch Deutsch-Ägyptisch: (2800-950 v. Chr.: die Sprache der Pharaonen* (Mainz, 2000).

Harpur, *Decoration*: Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom: Studies in Orientation and Scene Content* (London, 1987).

Harpur and Scremin, *Chapel of Ptahhotep*: Y. Harpur – P. Scremin, *The Chapel of Ptahhotep: Scene Details* (Oxford, 2008).

Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity*: M. Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes, 1419-1372 BCE* (Monument Aegyptiaca 10, Turnhout, 2004).

Hassan, *Giza*: S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, 10 vols. (Oxford/Cairo, 1929-1960).

Hassan, *Saqqara*: S. Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara*, 3 vols. (Cairo, 1975).

Helck, *Gaue*: W. Helck, *Die altägyptischen Gaue* (Wiesbaden, 1974).

Hope and McFarlane, *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom* 2: C.A. Hope – A. McFarlane, *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom, vol. 2: The Pottery, Decoration Techniques and Colour Conventions* (Oxford, 2006).

Houlihan, *Birds of Ancient Egypt*: P.F. Houlihan, *The Birds of Ancient Egypt* (Warminster, 1986).

James, *Khentika*: T.G.H. James, *The Mastaba of Khentika Called Ikhekhi* (London, 1953).

JARCE: *Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt*.

Jaroš-Deckert, *Asasif*: B. Jaroš-Deckert, *Grabung im Asasif*, 6 vols. (Mainz am Rhein, 1971-).

JEA: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.

Jéquier, *Pepi II*: G. Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pepy II* (Cairo, 1929).

Jones, *Index*: D. Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2000).

JNES: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*.

Kamrin, *The Cosmos of Khnumhotep II*: J. Kamrin, *The Cosmos of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan* (New York, 1998).

Kanawati, *Egyptian Administration*: N. Kanawati, *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom: Evidence on its Economic Decline* (Warminster, 1977).

Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*: N. Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt* (Warminster, 1980).

Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*: N. Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmim*, 10 vols. (Sydney, 1980-1992).

Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa*: N. Kanawati, *The Tombs of El-Hagarsa*, 3 vols. (Sydney, 1993-1995).

Kanawati, *Tomb and Beyond*: N. Kanawati, *The Tomb and Beyond: Burial Customs of Egyptian Officials* (Warminster, 2001).

Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*: N. Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2005-2007).

Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cemetery* 2: N. Kanawati, – M. Abder-Raziq, *The Unis Cemetery at Saqqara, vol. 2: The Tombs of Iynefert and Ihy (reused by Idut)* (Warminster, 2003).

Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and his Family*: N. Kanawati – M. Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and his Family*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2004-2008).

Kanawati and McFarlane, *Deshasha*: N. Kanawati – A. McFarlane, *Deshasha: The Tombs of Inti, Shedu and Others* (Sydney 1993).

Kanawati and Woods, *Artists in the Old Kingdom*: N. Kanawati – A. Woods, *Artists in the Old Kingdom: Techniques and Achievements* (Cairo, 2009).

Kanawati et al, *Teti Cemetery*: N. Kanawati – A. Hassan, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara*, vols. 1-2; N. Kanawati – M. Abder-Raziq, vols. 3, 5-7; N. Kanawati, vols. 8-9 (Sydney, 1996; Warminster, 1997-2001, Oxford, 2006-2009).

El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Excavations at Saqqara*: A. El-Khouli – N. Kanawati, *Excavations at Saqqara: North-west of Teti's Pyramid*, 2 vols. (Sydney, 1984-1988).

El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*: A. El-Khouli – N. Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna: The Tombs of Pepy-ankh and Khewen-wekh* (Sydney, 1989).

Kêmi: *Kêmi. Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptienne et copte*.

Kemp, *Anatomy*: B. Kemp, *Anatomy of a Civilization* (2nd ed. London, 2006).

Kush: *Kush. Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service*.

LÄ: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*. W. Helck – E. Otto – W. Westendorf (eds.), 7 vols.

Labor in the Ancient Near East: M.A. Powell (ed.), *Labor in the Ancient Near East* (New Haven, 1987).

Labrousse and Moussa, *La chaussée du complexe funéraire du roi Ounas*: A. Labrousse – A. Moussa, *La chaussée du complexe funéraire du roi Ounas* (Cairo, 2002).

Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II: C.R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*, 12 vols (Berlin, 1849-1856).

Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*: M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings*, 3 vols. (Berkeley, 1973-1980).

Manniche, *Sexual Life in Ancient* Egypt: L. Manniche, *Sexual Life in Ancient Egypt* (London and New York, 1987).

McFarlane, *Saqqara Mastabas*: A. McFarlane, *Mastabas at Saqqara: Kaiemheset, Kaipunesut, Kaiemsenu, Sehetepu and Others* (Oxford, 2003).

MDAIK: *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*.

MMJ: *Metropolitan Museum Journal*.

Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*: H.T. Mohr, *The Mastaba of Hetep-her-akhti: Study on an Egyptian Chapel in the Museum of Antiquities* (Leiden, 1943).

Montet, *Scènes de la vie privée*: P. Montet, *Scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire* (Strasbourg, 1925).

Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-Hay*: A.M. Moussa – H. Altenmüller, *The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-Hay* (Mainz am Rhein, 1971).

Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*: A.M. Moussa – H. Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep* (Mainz am Rhein, 1977).

Moussa and Junge, *Two Tombs of Craftsmen*: A.M. Moussa – F. Junge, *Two Tombs of Craftsmen* (Mainz, 1975).

Mummies and Magic: S. D'Auria – P. Lacovara – C.H. Roehrig (eds.), *Mummies and magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt* (Boston, 1988).

Munro, *Unas-Friedhof* 1: P. Munro, *Das Unas-Friedhof Nord-west*, vol. 1 (Mainz, 1993).

Myśliwiec, *Merefnebef*: K. Myśliwiec, *Saqqara* I*: The Tomb of Merefnebef* (Warsaw, 2004).

Néferkarê aux Montouhotep: L. Pantalacci – C. Berger-el-Naggar (eds.), *Des Néferkarê aux Montouhotep: Travaux archéologiques en cours sur la fin de la VIe dynastie et la Première Période Intermédiaire* (Actes du Colloque CNRS, Lyon, 2005).

Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1: P.E. Newberry, *El-Bersheh*, vol. 1: *The Tomb of Tehuti-Hetep* (London, 1893).

Newberry, *Beni Hasan*: P.E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, 4 vols. (London, 1893-1900).

Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*: J.F. Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine* (London, 1996).

OEAE: *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*. D.B. Redford (ed.), 3 vols.

The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology: M. Bárta (ed.), *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology: Proceedings of the Conference held in Prague May31 – June, 2004* (Prague, 2006).

Osborn and Osbornová, *The Mammals of Ancient Egypt*: D.J. Osborn – J. Osbornová, *The Mammals of Ancient Egypt* (Warminster, 1998).

Peck, *Naga ed-Dêr*: C.N. Peck, *Some Decorated Tombs of the First Intermediate Period at Naga ed-Dêr* (PhD Thesis, Brown University, 1958).

Peck, *Egyptian Drawings*: W.H. Peck, *Egyptian Drawings* (New York, 1978).

Petrie, *Dendereh*: W.M.F. Petrie, *Dendereh, 1898* (London, 1900).

PM: B. Porter – R.L.B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, 7 vols. (Oxford, 1927-52, 2nd ed. 1960-).

Posener, *Littérature et politique*: G. Posener, *Littérature et politique dans l'Égypte de la XIIe dynastie* (Paris, 1956).

Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*: D. B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton, 1992).

Robins, *Proportion and Style*: G. Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art* (Austin, 1994).

Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1997).

Roth, *Palace Attendants*: A.M. Roth, *A Cemetery of Palace Attendants including G2084-2099, G2230-2231 and G2240* (Boston, 1995).

RSO: *Rivista degli studi orientali*.

SAK: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*.

Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs at Thebes*: M. Saleh, *Three Old-Kingdom Tombs at Thebes, I: The Tomb of Unas-Ankh no. 413, II: The Tomb of Khenty no. 405, III: The Tomb of Ihy no. 186* (Mainz am Rhein, 1977).

Schäfer, *Principles*: H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, J. Baines, trans. (Oxford, 1974).

Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*: W. Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien* (Bonn, 1962).

Schürmann, *Ii-nefert*: W. Schürmann, *Die Reliefs aus dem Grab des Pyramiden-vorstehers Ii-nefret: Eine Bilddokumentation des Badischen Landsmuseums Karlsruhe* (Karlsruhe, 1983).

Sethe, *Urkunden*: K. Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reiches* (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1932-1933).

Shedid, *Die Felsgräber von Beni Hassan in Mittelägypten*: A.G. Shedid, *Die Felsgräber von Beni Hassan in Mittelägypten* (Mainz am Rhein, 1994).

Simpson, *Qar and Idu*: W.K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu: G7101 and 7102* (Boston, 1976).

Simpson, *Kawab*: W.K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II* (Boston, 1978).

Simpson, *Western Cemetery* 1: W.K. Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery*, vol. 1: *Sekhemka (G 1029); Tjetu I (G 2001); Iasen (G 2196); Penmeru (G 2197); Hagy, Nefertjentet, and Herunefer (G 2352/53); Djaty, Tjetu II, and Nimesti (G 2337X, 2343, 2366)* (Boston, 1980).

Simpson, *Kayemnofret*: W.K. Simpson, *The Offering Chapel of Kayemnofret in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1992).

Smith, *Art and Architecture*: W.S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (Baltimore, 1958).

Smith, *HESPOK*: W.S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (New York, rept. 1978).

Strandberg, *The Gazelle in Ancient Egyptian Art*: A. Strandberg, *The Gazelle in Ancient Egyptian Art: Image and Meaning* (Uppsala, 2009).

Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*: N. Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age* (Leiden, 2005).

Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean and the Sudan: W.K. Simpson – W.M. Davis (eds.), *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean and the Sudan: Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham on the occasion of his 90th birthday, June 1, 1980* (Boston, 1981).

Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths: A.B. Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths* (London, 1992).

Vandier, *Mo'alla*: J. Vandier, *Mo'alla: La tombe d'Ankhtifi et la tombe de Sébekhotep* (Cairo, 1950).

Vandier, *Manuel*: J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archaéologie égyptienne*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1952-78).

Varille, *Ni-ankh-Pepi*: A. Varille, *La tomb de Ni-ankh-Pepi à Zâouyet El-Mayetin* (Cairo, 1938).

van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*: B. van de Walle, *La chapelle funéraire de Neferirtenef* (Brusells, 1978).

Weeks, *G6000 Cemetery*: K. R. Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G6000 including G6010 (Neferbauptah), G6020 (Iymery), G6030 (Ity), G6040 (Shepseskafankh)* (Boston, 1994).

Wenig, *Sport in Ancient Egypt*: T. Wenig, *Sport in Ancient Egypt* (Leipzig, 1969).

Willems, *Dayr al-Barshā*: H. Willems, *Dayr al-Barshā* (Leuven, 2007).

Woods: *Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes*: A. Woods, *A 'Day in the Marshes': A Study of Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes in the Tombs of the Memphite Cemeteries*, 2 vols. (PhD Thesis, Macquarie University, 2008).

ZÄS: *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*.

Ziegler, *Le mastaba d'Akhethetep*: C. Ziegler, *Le mastaba d'Akhethetep: Une chapelle funéraire de l'Ancien Empire* (Paris, 1993).

Index

The following index refers only to citations in the text. Other references may be found in the footnotes, figures and photographs.

Kings

Deities

Individuals

Artistic Themes

Animals, Animal Husbandry and Mythical creatures

The Tomb Owner and his Family

Entertainment

PHOTOGRAPHS



1. Khnumhotep II, section of biography, south wall



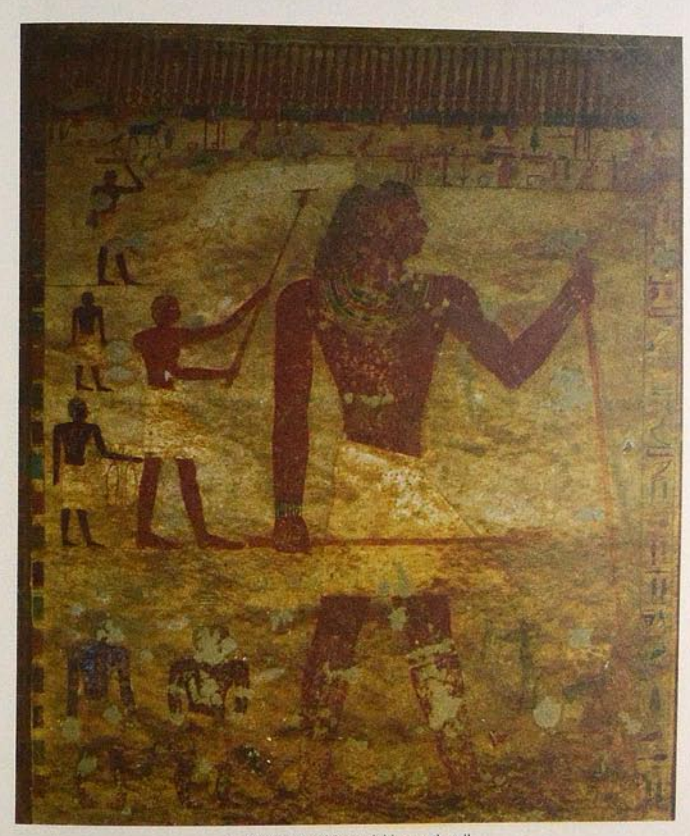
2. Khnumhotep II, portrait in the fowling scene, east wall



3. Khety, wife of Khnumhotep II, at the offering table, south wall



4. Khety, at the offering table, south wall



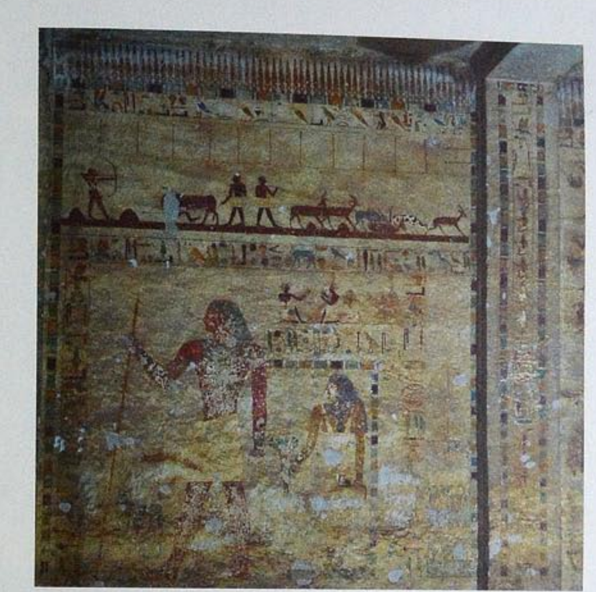
5. Khety, supervising activities, south wall



6. Khety with his wife under a pillared structure, south wall



7. The same shaped pillar used in Khety's tomb



8. Khety standing with his wife, Khnumhotep, north wall



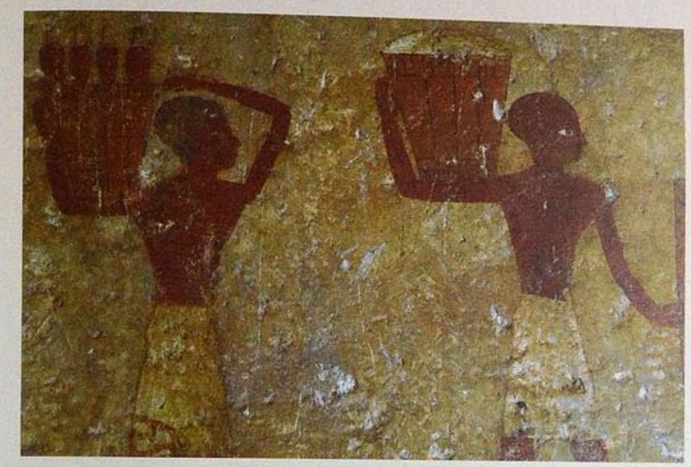
9. Khety, detail of hieroglyphs illustrating the consummation of marriage, north wall



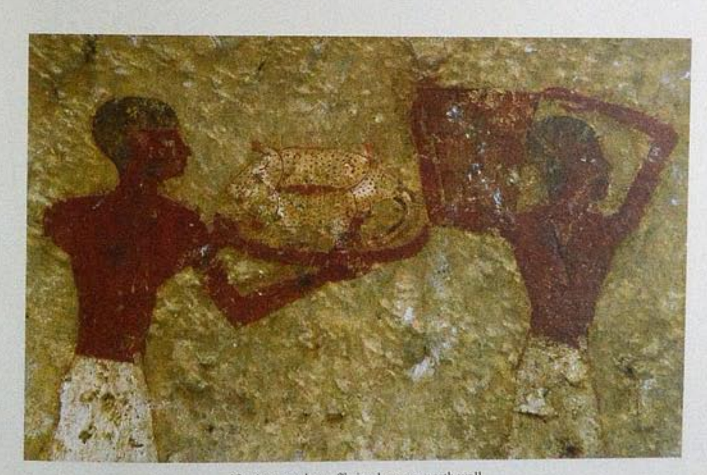
10. Khety, detail of a hieroglyph showing a man presenting a gift (?) to a woman, north wall



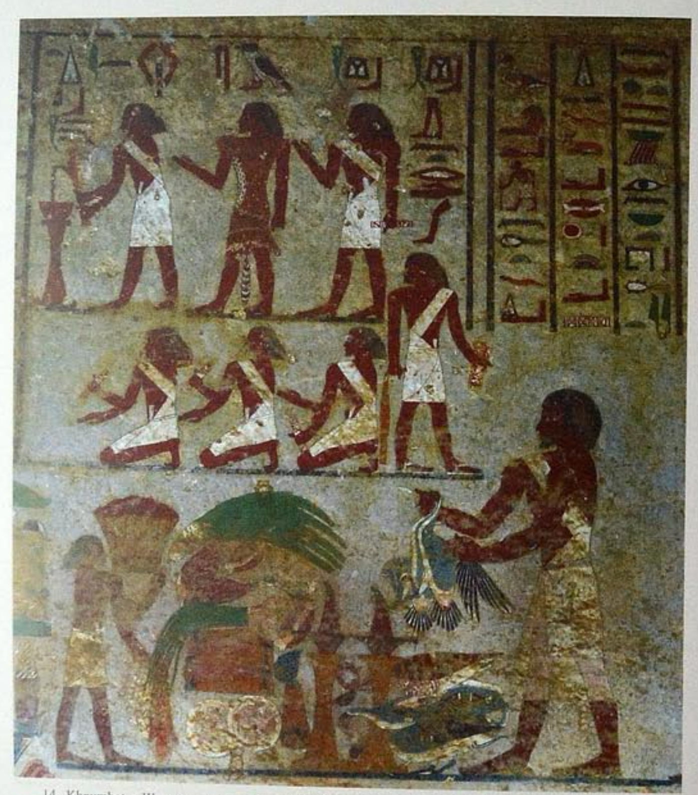
11. Khety, detail of a rare hieroglyph referring to the consummation of marriage, north wall



12. Amenemhat, offering bearers, north wall



13. Amenemhat, offering bearers, north wall



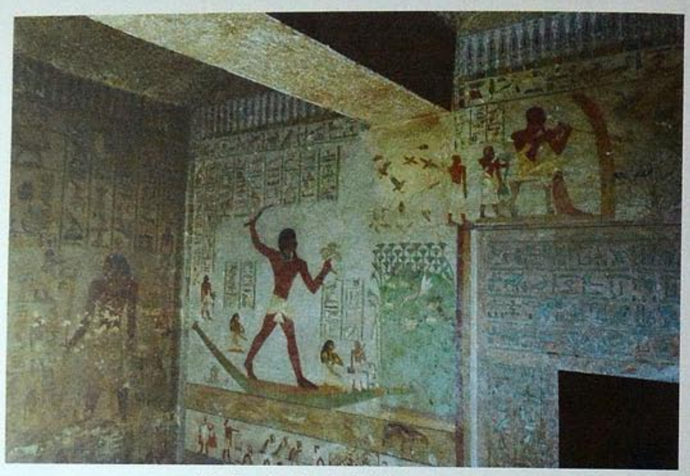
14. Khnumhotep II's son presenting him with offerings accompanied by the offering ceremony, south wall



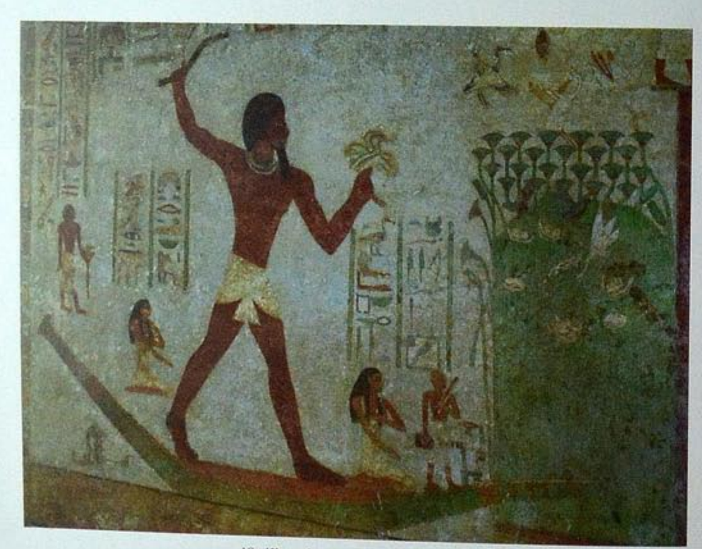
15. Baqet III, presenting ornaments to the tomb owner, south wall



16. Khnumhotep II, carrying a catch of birds, north wall



17 . Khnumhotep II, chapel, looking north-east



18. Khnumhotep II, fowling, east wall



19. Khnumhotep II, fowling with a clapnet, east wall



20. Khnumhotep II, detail of the clapnet, east wall



21. Khnumhotep II, spear-fishing, east wall



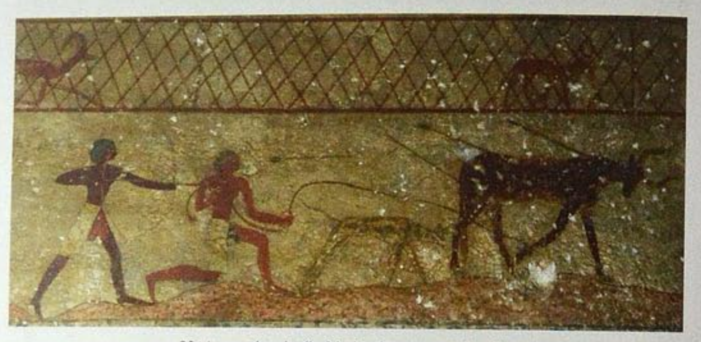
22. Khnumhotep II, detail of the spear-fishing scene, east wall

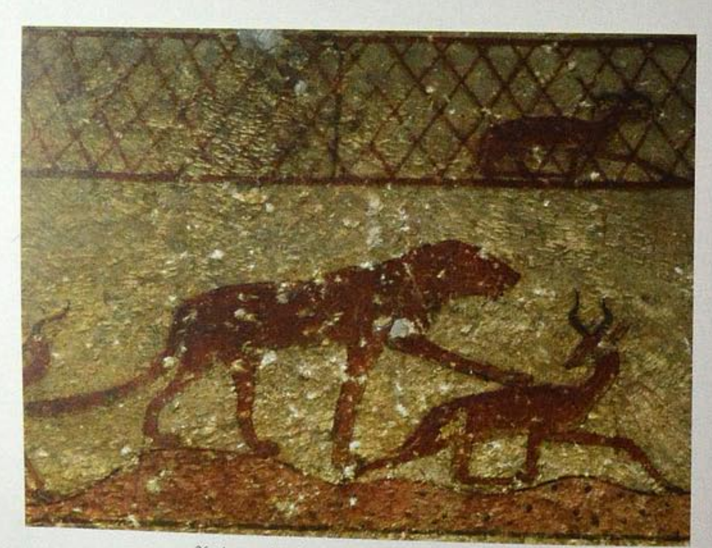


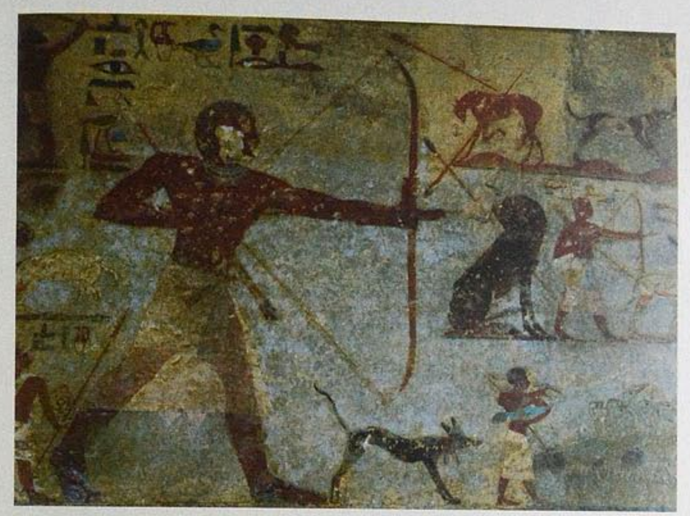
23. Khnumhotep II, detail of the spear-fishing scene, east wall

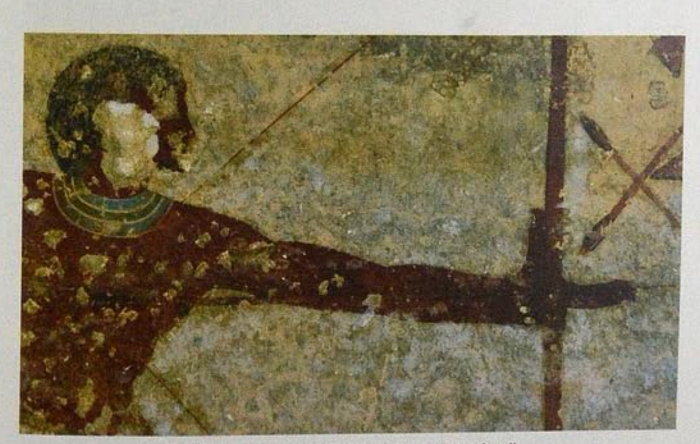


24. Khnumhotep II, detail of the spear-fishing scene, east wall


25. Amenemhat, detail of the hunting scene, north wall


26. Amenemhat, detail of the hunting scene, north wall


27. Khnumhotep II, hunting, north wall


28. Khnumhotep II, detail of the hunting scene, north wall



29. Khnumhotep II, detail of the hunting scene, north wall



30. Khnumhotep II, detail of the hunting scene, north wall



31. Khnumhotep II, detail of the hunting scene, north wall



32. Khnumhotep II, detail of the hunting scene, north wall



33. Khnumhotep II, detail of the hunting scene, north wall



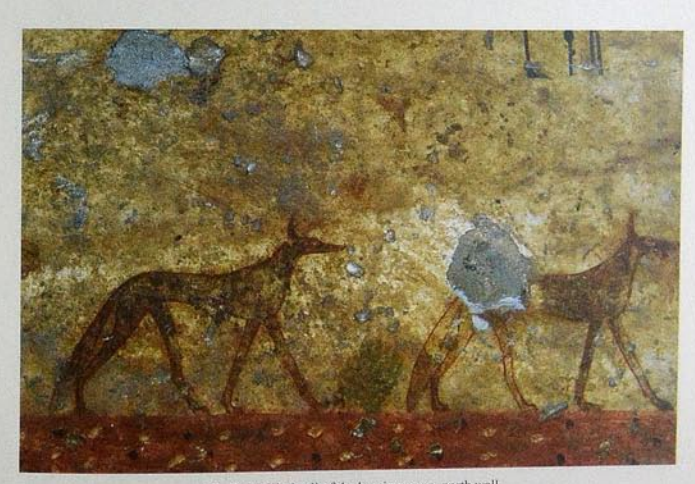
34. Baqet III, detail of the hunting scene, north wall



35. Baqet III, detail of the hunting scene, north wall



36. Baqet III, detail of the hunting scene, north wall



37. Baqet III, detail of the hunting scene, north wall



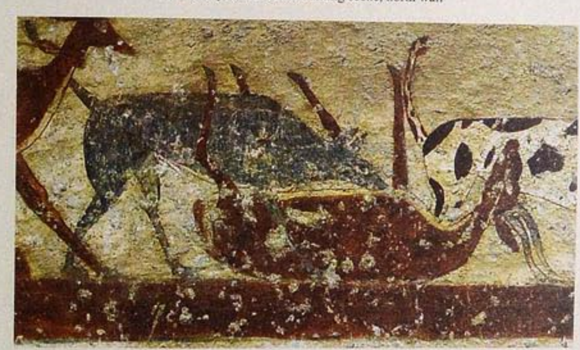
38. Baqet III, detail of the hunting scene, north wall



39. Baqet III, detail of the hunting scene, north wall



40. Khety, detail of the hunting scene, north wall



41. Khety, detail of the hunting scene, north wall



42. Khety, detail of the hunting scene, north wall



43. Khety, detail of the hunting scene, north wall



44. Khety, detail of the hunting scene, north wall



45. Khnumhotep II, bull fight, north wall



46. Khnumhotep II, bull fight, north wall



47. Baqet III, bull fight, south wall



48. Khety, bull fight, west wall



49. Khety, detail of the bull fight scene, west wall



50. Amenemhat, musicians and clappers, west wall

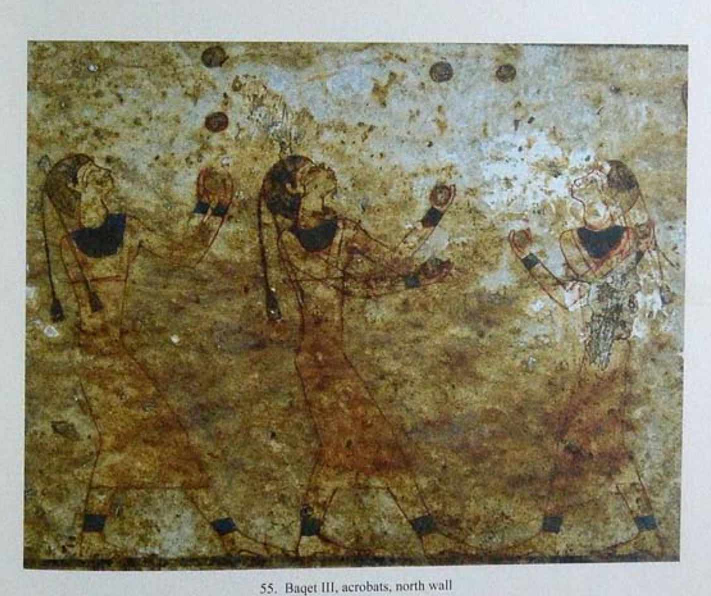


51. Khety, musician, south wall


52. Amenemhat, dancers, north wall


53. Amenemhat, dancers, north wall


54. Baqet III, acrobats, north wall


55. Baqet III, acrobats, north wall



56. Baqet III, acrobats, north wall



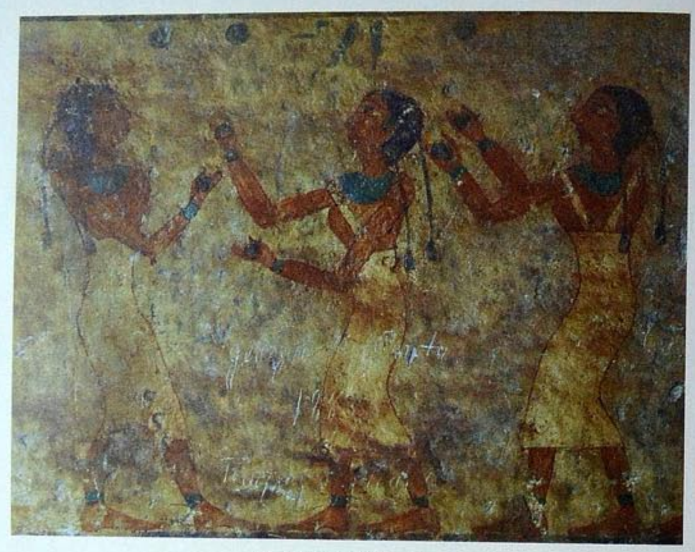
57. Baqet III, acrobats, north wall



58. Baqet III, games, north wall



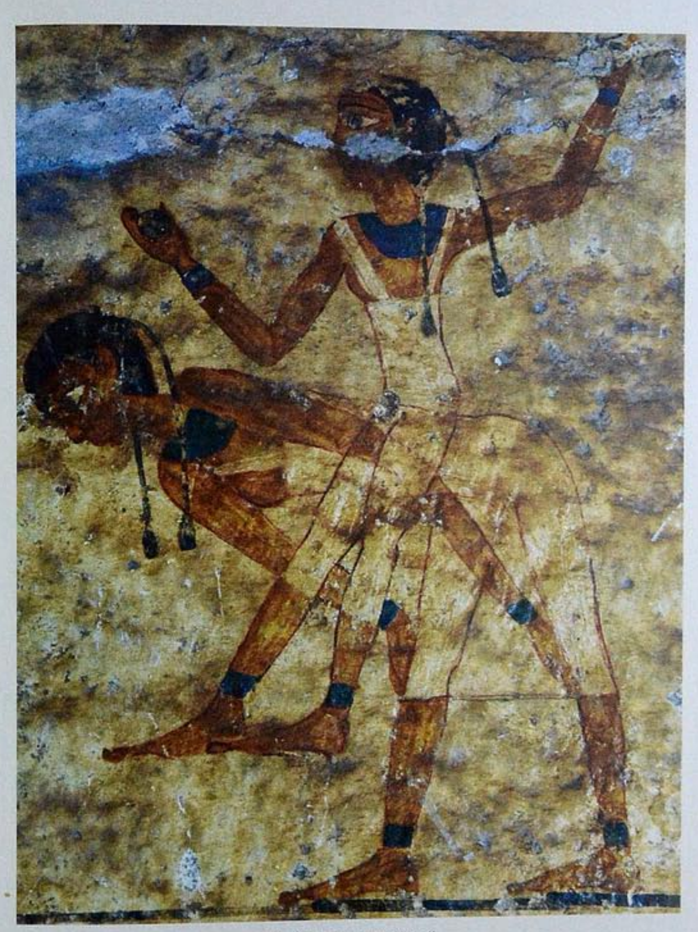
59. Baqet III, games, south wall



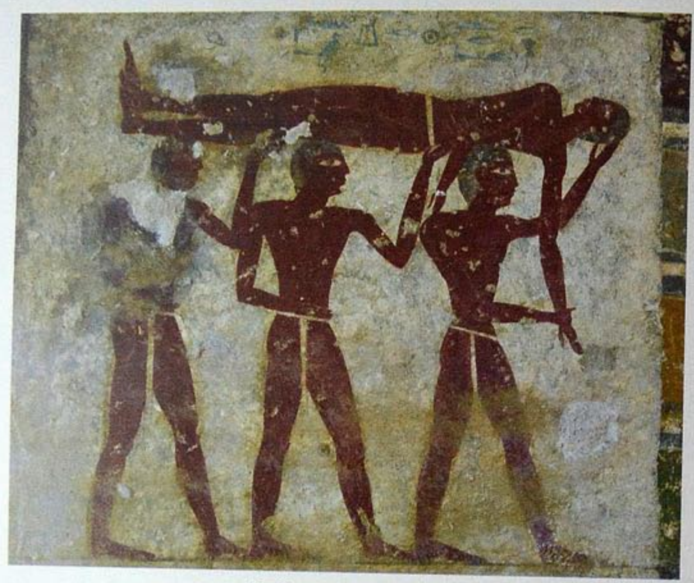
60. Khety, games, north wall



61. Khety, games, north wall



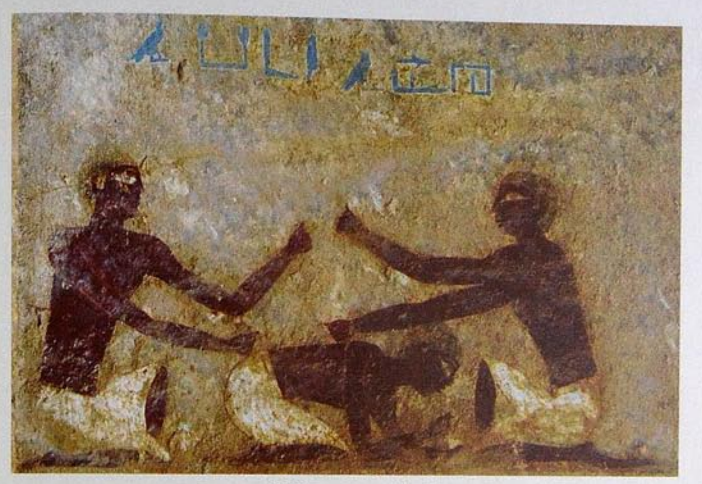
62. Khety, games, north wall



63. Khety, games, south wall



64. Khety, games, south wall



65. Khety, games, south wall



66. Khety, games, south wall



67. Amenemhat, warfare, east wall



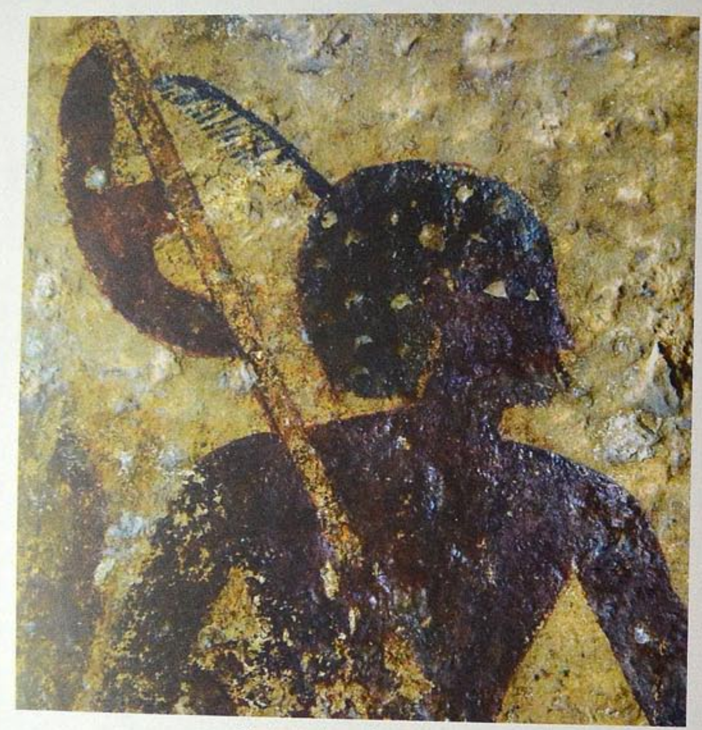
68. Amenemhat, warfare, east wall



69. Amenemhat, warfare, east wall



70. Amenemhat, warfare, east wall



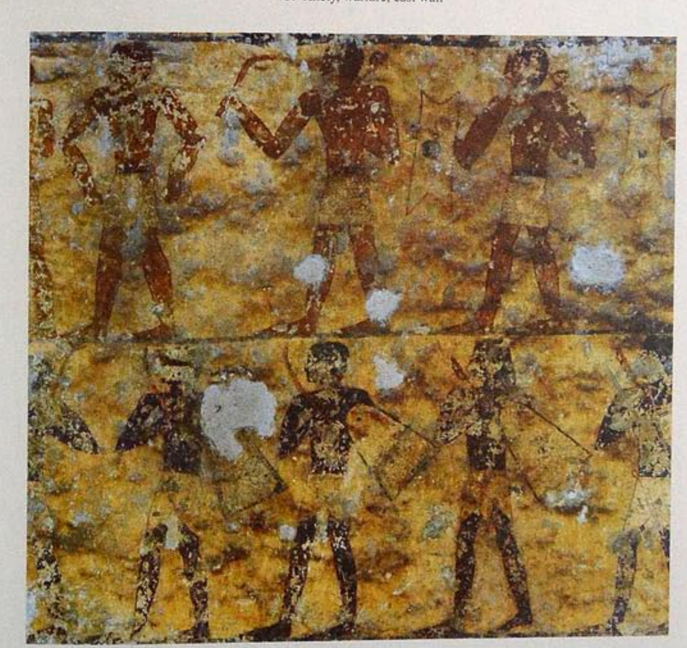
71. Amenemhat, warfare, east wall



72. Baqet III, warfare, east wall



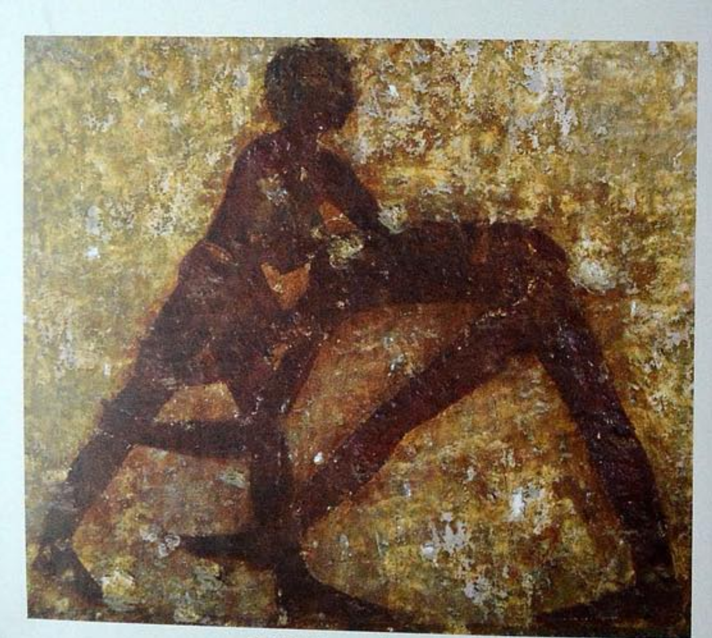
73. Khety, warfare, east wall



74. Khety, warfare, east wall



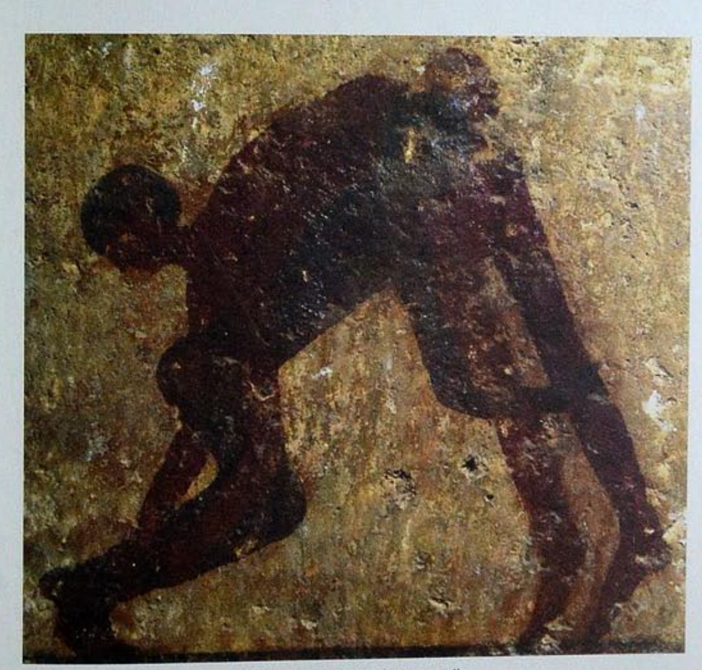
75. Amenemhat, wrestling, east wall



76. Amenemhat, wrestling, east wall



77. Amenemhat, wrestling, east wall



78. Amenemhat, wrestling, east wall



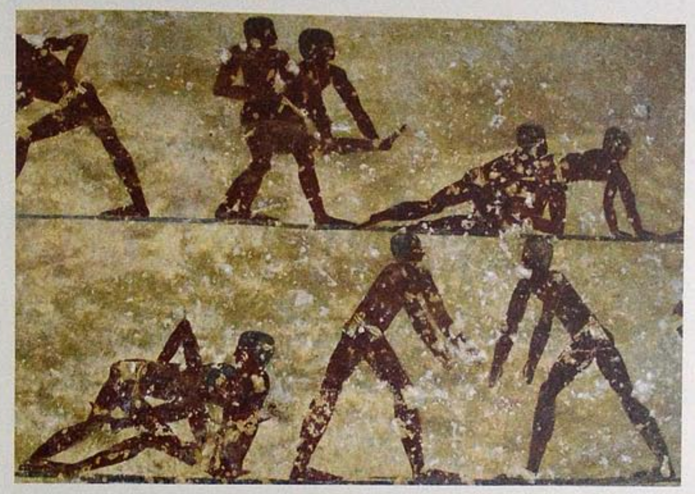
79. Baqet III, wrestling, east wall



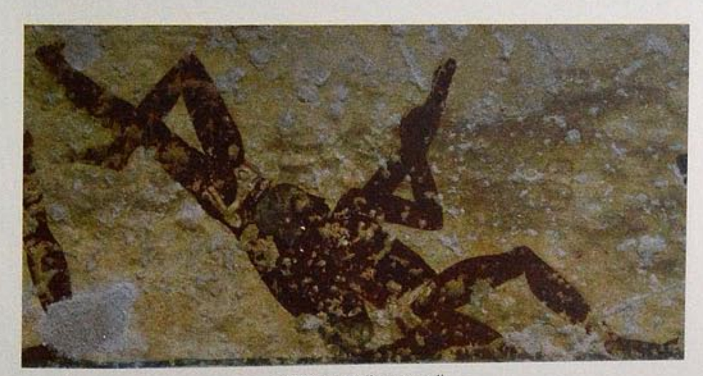
80. Khety, wrestling, east wall



81. Khety, wrestling, east wall



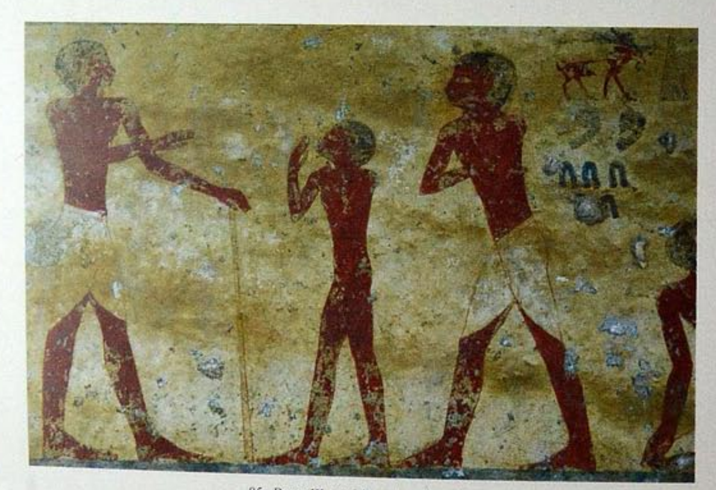
82. Khety, wrestling, east wall



83. Khety, wrestling, east wall



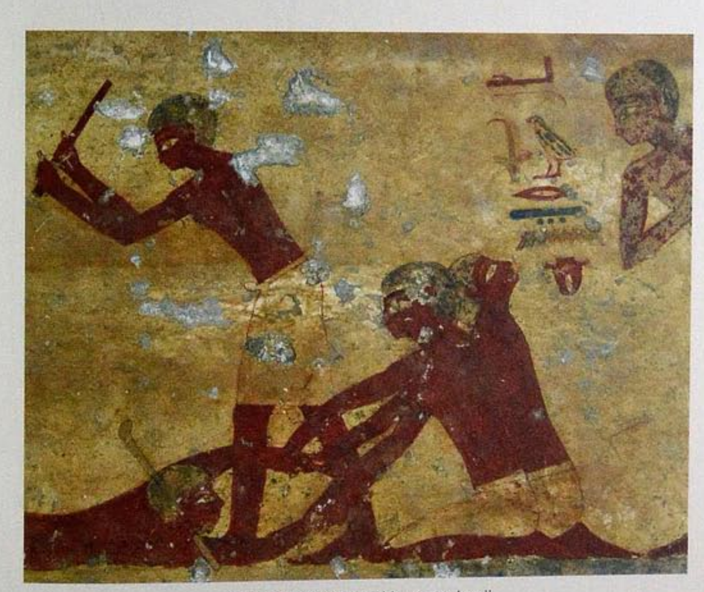
84. Baqet III, punishment, south wall



85. Baqet III, punishment, south wall



86. Baqet III, punishment, south wall



87. Baqet III, detail of punishment, south wall



88. Baqet III, punishment, south wall



89. Baqet III, punishment, south wall



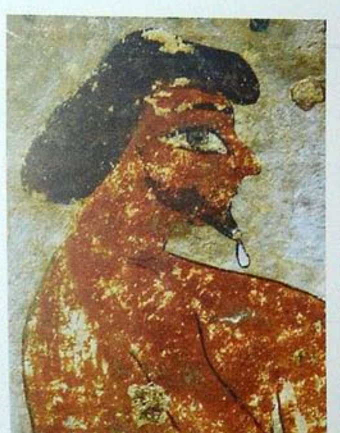
90. Khnumhotep II, foreigners, north wall



91. Khnumhotep II, detail of the letter from the foreigners, north wall



92. Khnumhotep II, foreigners, north wall

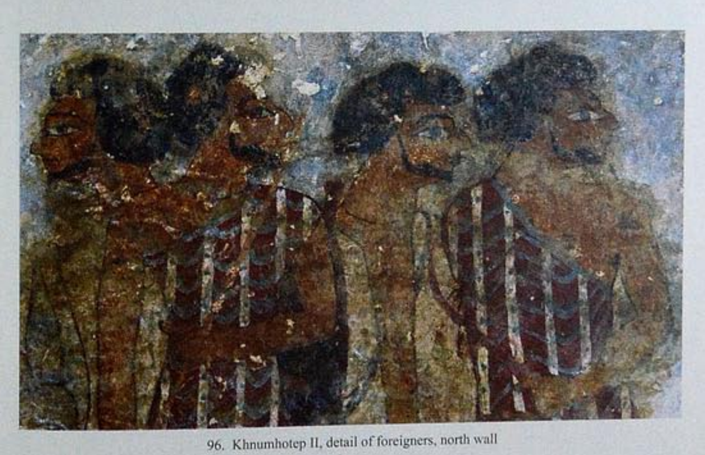




93-94. Khnumhotep II, detail of foreigners, north wall



95. Khnumhotep II, foreigners, north wall

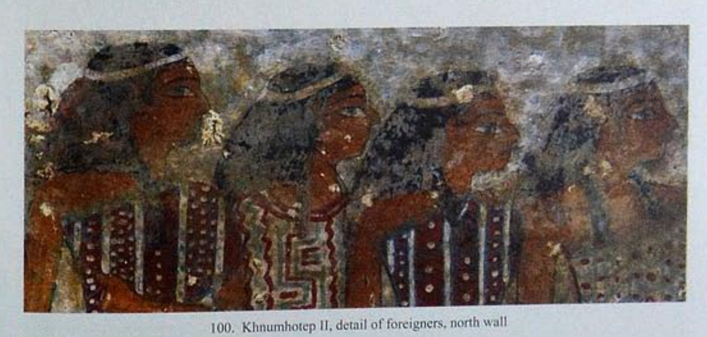


96. Khnumhotep II, detail of foreigners, north wall


97. Khnumhotep II, foreigners, north wall


98. Khnumhotep II, detail of foreigners, north wall


99. Khnumhotep II, foreigners, north wall


100. Khnumhotep II, detail of foreigners, north wall



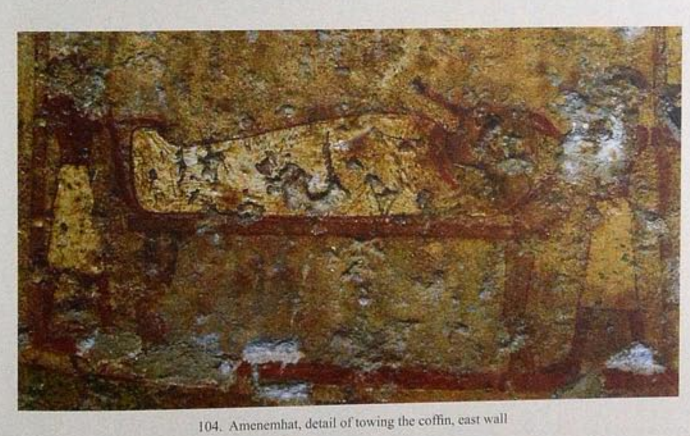
101. Khnumhotep II, foreigners, north wall



102. Khnumhotep II, detail of foreigners, north wall



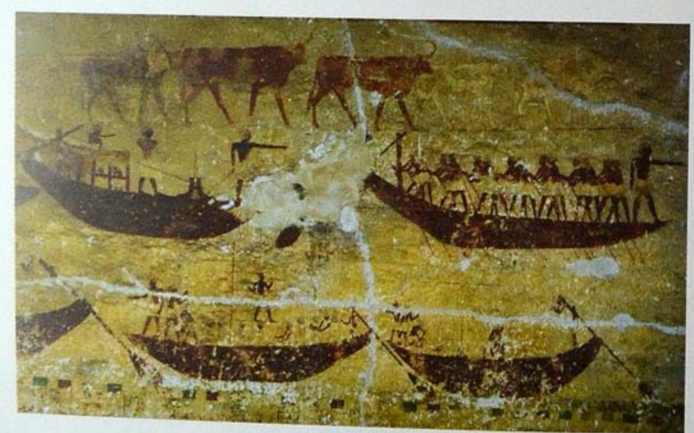
103. Amenemhat, towing the coffin, east wall



104. Amenemhat, detail of towing the coffin, east wall



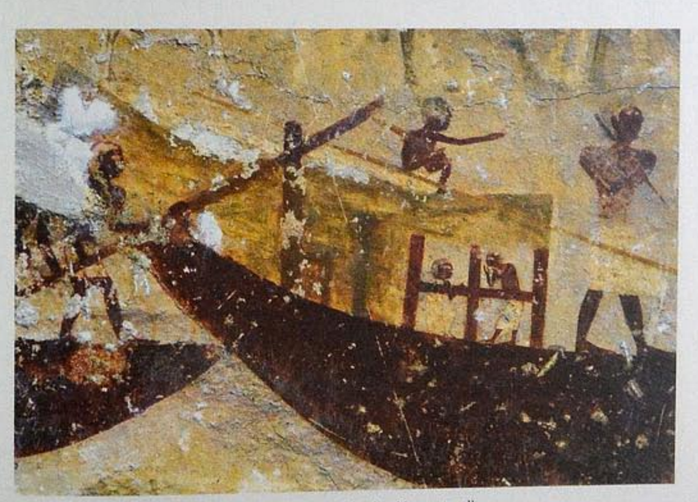
105. Khnumhotep II, towing the coffin, west wall



106. Khety, transportation by ship, west wall



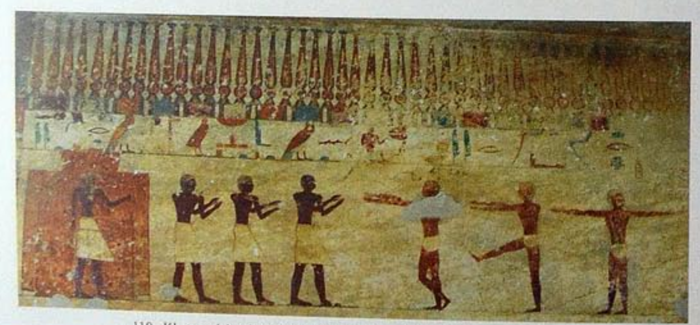
107. Khety, transportation by ship, west wall



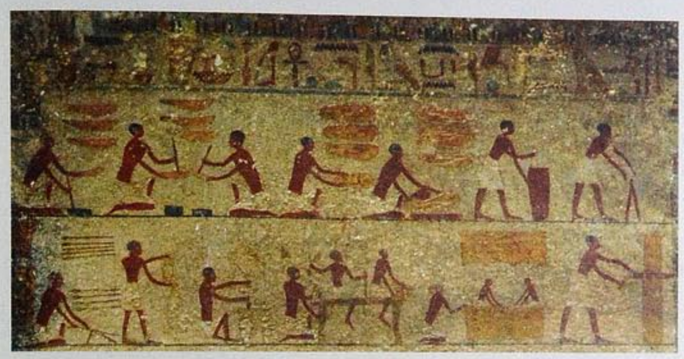
108. Khety, transportation by ship, west wall



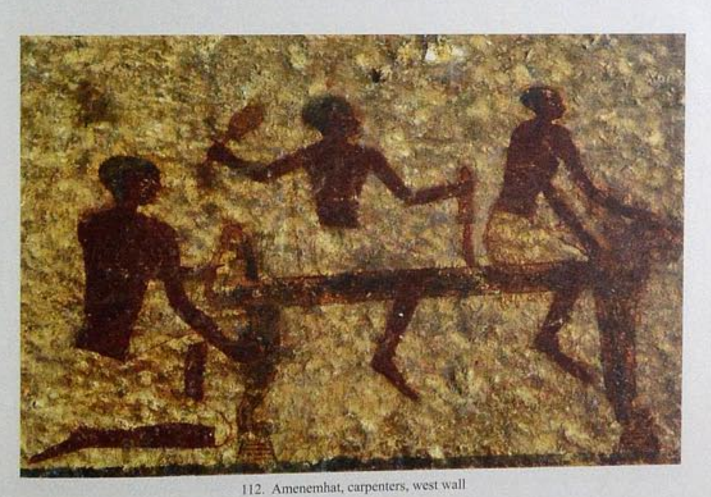
109. Amenemhat, dragging the statue of the tomb owner on a sledge, north wall



110. Khety, celebration in front of the statue of the tomb owner, south wall



111. Amenemhat, crafts, west wall (upper registers)



112. Amenemhat, carpenters, west wall



113. Amenemhat, carpenters, west wall



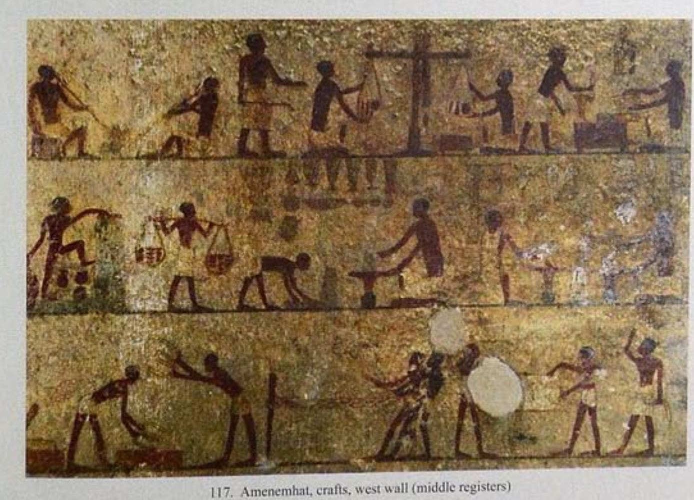
114. Amenemhat, sandal makers, west wall



115. Amenemhat, manufacturing arrows and stone vessels, west wall



116. Amenemhat, manufacturing flint knives, west wall



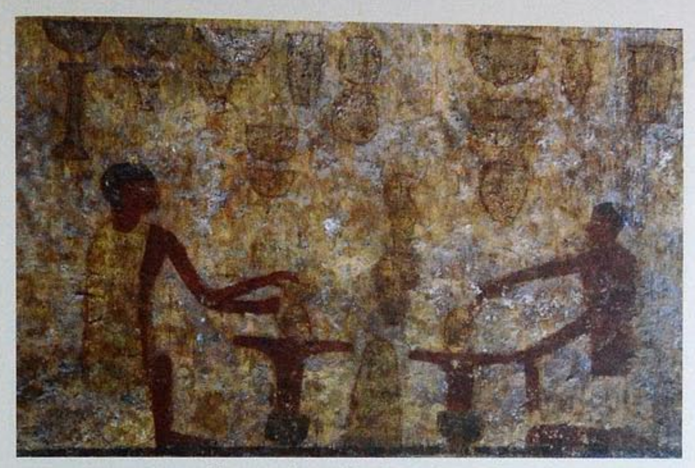
117. Amenemhat, crafts, west wall (middle registers)



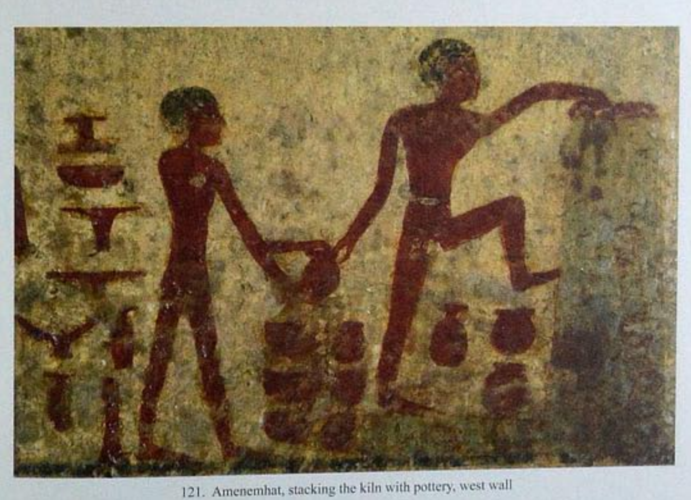
118. Amenemhat, weighing the metal, west wall



119. Amenemhat, recording the metal products, west wall



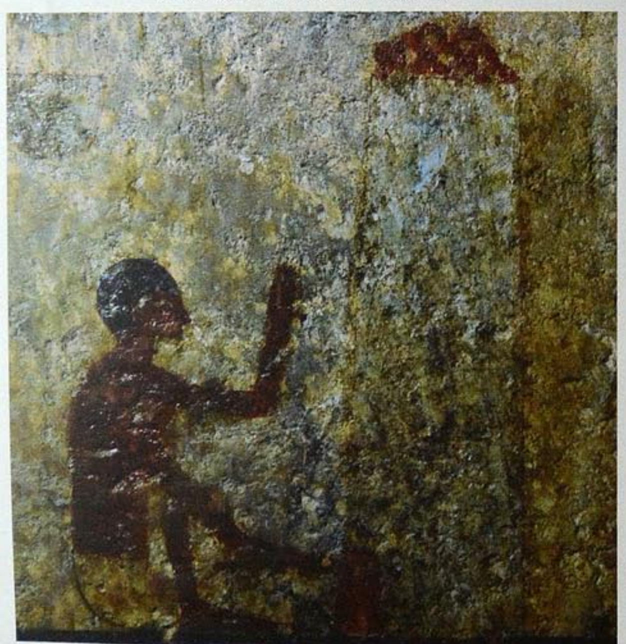
120. Amenemhat, manufacturing pottery, west wall



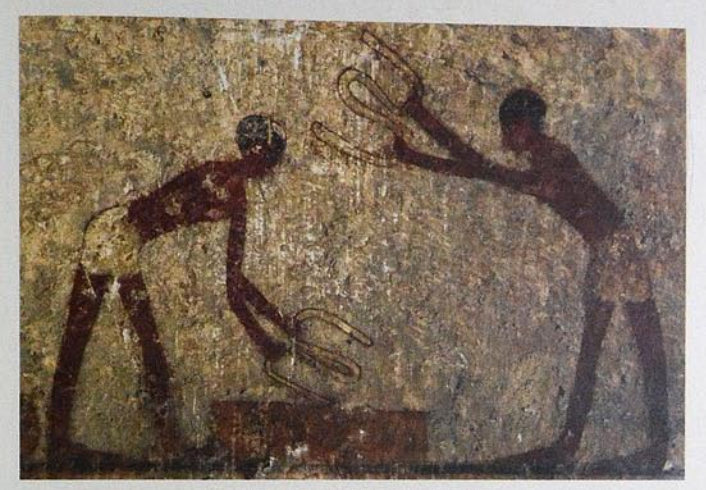
121. Amenemhat, stacking the kiln with pottery, west wall



122. Amenemhat, preparation of the clay, west wall



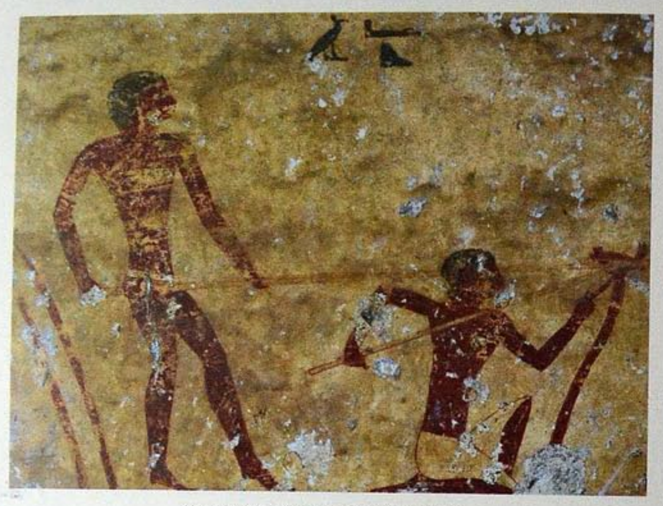
123. Amenemhat, firing pottery in the kiln, west wall



124. Amenemhat, fullers at work, west wall



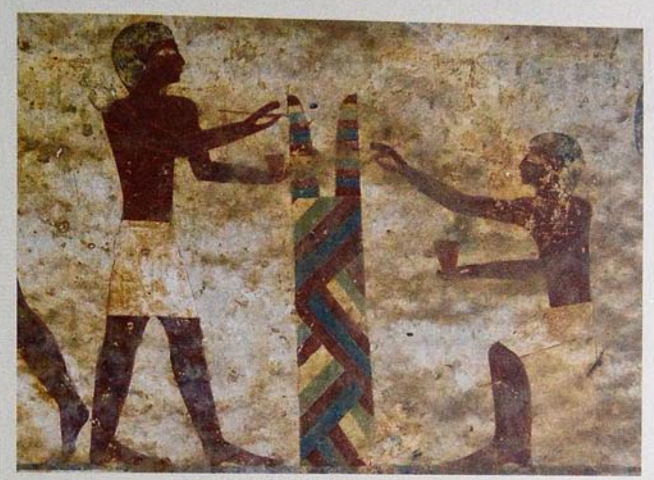
125. Amenemhat, fullers at work, west wall



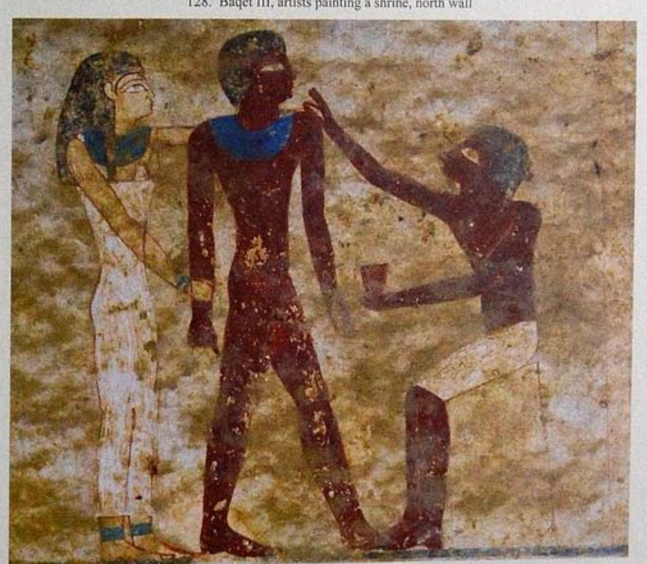
126. Baqet III, manufacturing staffs, south wall



127. Baqet III, manufacturing staffs, south wall



128. Baqet III, artists painting a shrine, north wall



129. Baqet III, artist painting a double statue, north wall



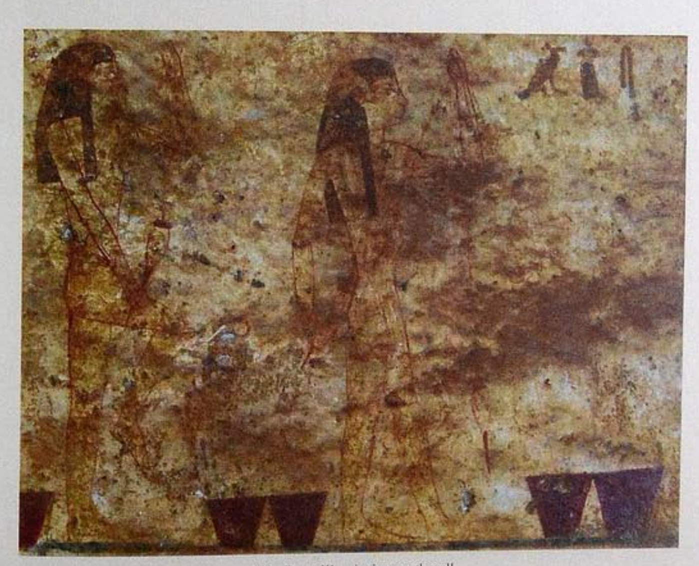
130. Baqet III, an artist in training, north wall



131. Baqet III, detail of an artist in training, north wall



132. Baqet III, spinning, north wall



133. Baqet III, spinning, north wall



134. Baqet III, fullers, north wall



135. Baqet III, handling the manufactured items, north wall



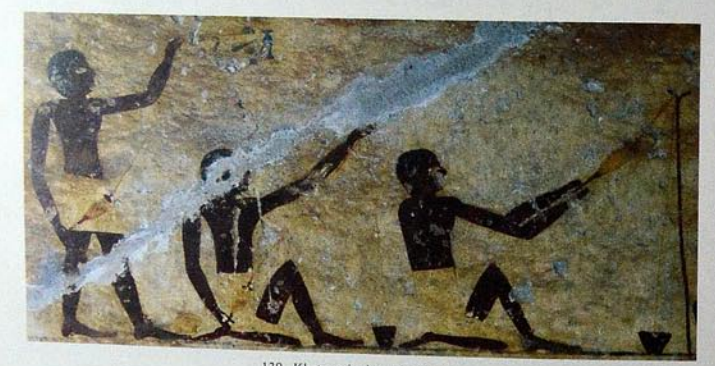
136 . Khety, metal working, north wall



137. Khety, weighing and recording the metal products, north wall



138. Khety, spinning, north wall



139. Khety, spinning, north wall



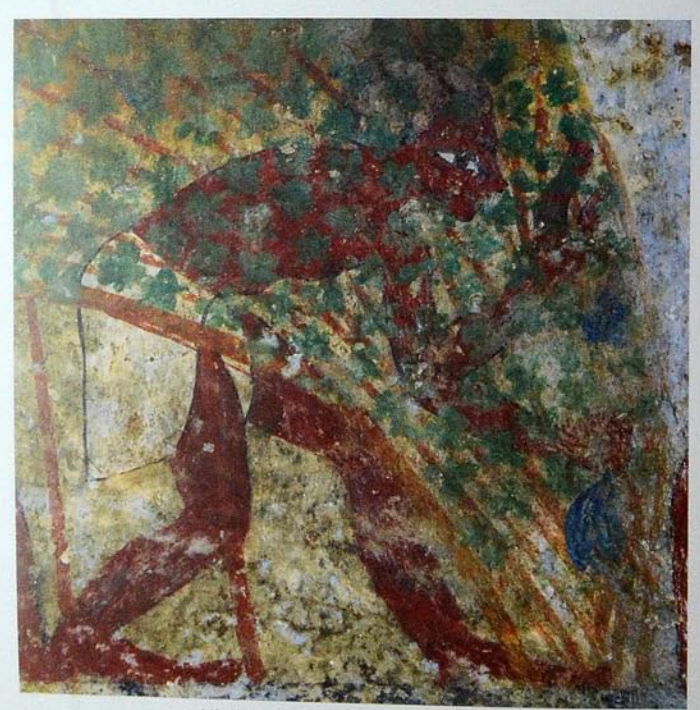
140. Khety, manufacturing of a net, north wall



141. Khety, weaving, north wall



142. Amenemhat, gardening, west wall



143. Khnumhotep II, detail of gardening, west wall



144. Khnumhotep II, gardening, west wall



145. Khnumhotep II, detail of gardening, west wall



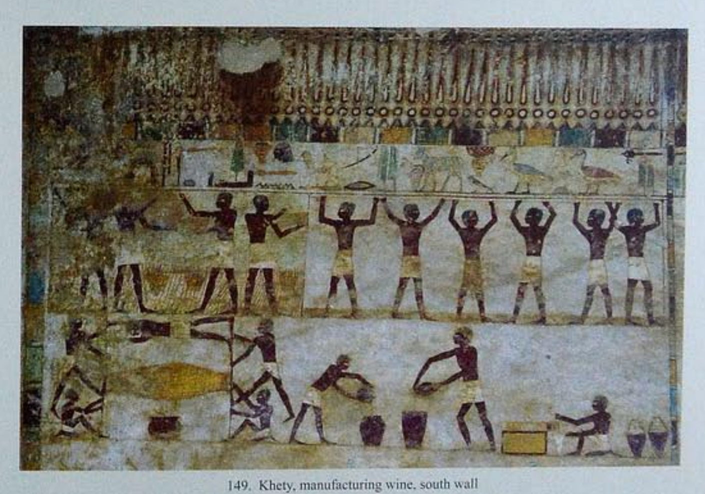
146. Khnumhotep II, gardening, west wall



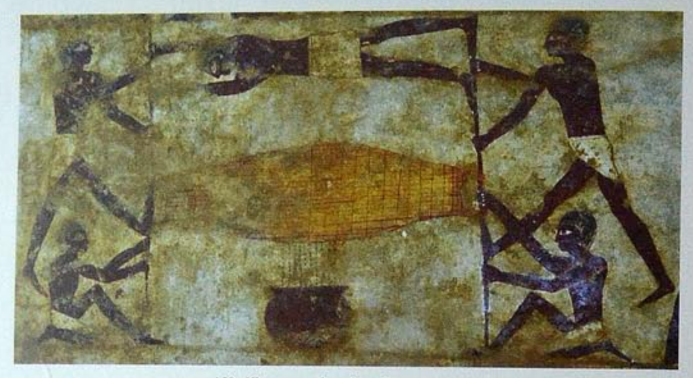
147. Khnumhotep II, detail of gardening, west wall



148. Baqet III, manufacturing wine, south wall



149. Khety, manufacturing wine, south wall



150. Khety, manufacturing wine, south wall



151. Khety, recording the wine production, south wall



152. Khety, granaries, south wall



153. Khety, granaries, south wall



154. Baqet III, personal care and grooming, north wall



155. Khety, personal care and grooming, north wall



156. Khnumhotep II, clapnet, north wall



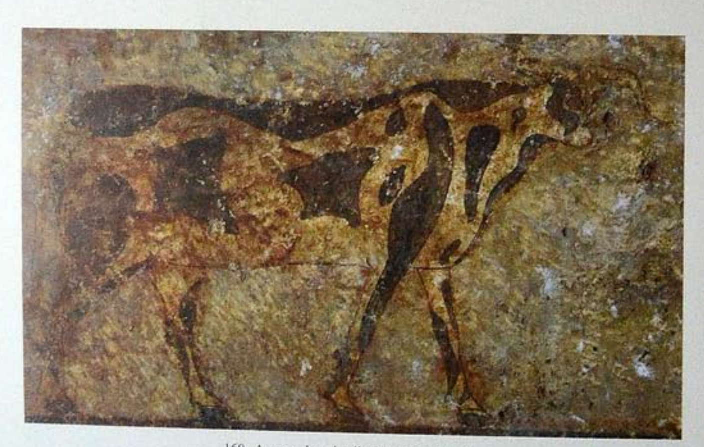
157. Khnumhotep II, boatmen in the marshes, east wall



158. Khnumhotep II, detail of the boatmen in the marshes, east wall



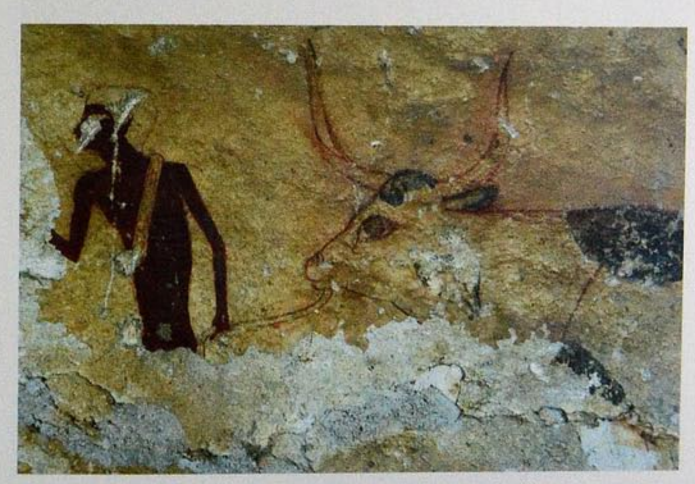
159. Khety, boatmen in the marshes, west wall



160. Amenemhat, detail of oxen, north wall



161. Amenemhat, herdsman leading a cow, north wall



162. Baqet III, emaciated herdsman leading an oxen, south wall



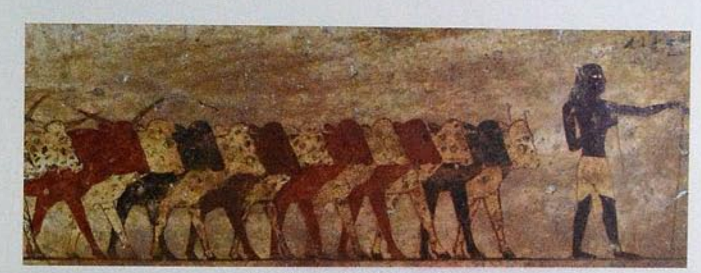
163. Baqet III, herdsman leading an oxen, south wall



164. Baqet III, milking, south wall



165. Baqet III, bull mounting a cow, south wall



166. Khety, leading animals, south wall



167. Khety, bringing down animals for sacrifice, south wall



168. Khety, deformed herdsman leading an oxen, south wall



169. Khnumhotep II, tending to oryx, north wall



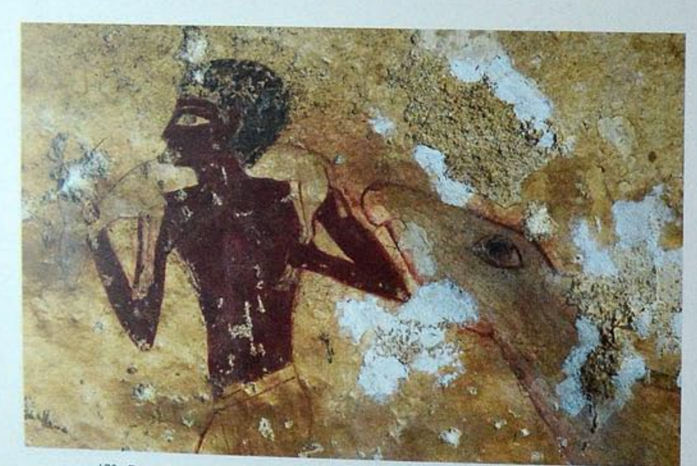
170. Baqet III, mating oryx, north wall



171. Khnumhotep II, a donkey rolling on the ground to scratch its back (?), north wall



172. Baqet III, parental affection between a donkey and her offspring, south wall



173. Baqet III, detail of parental affection between a donkey and her offspring, south wall



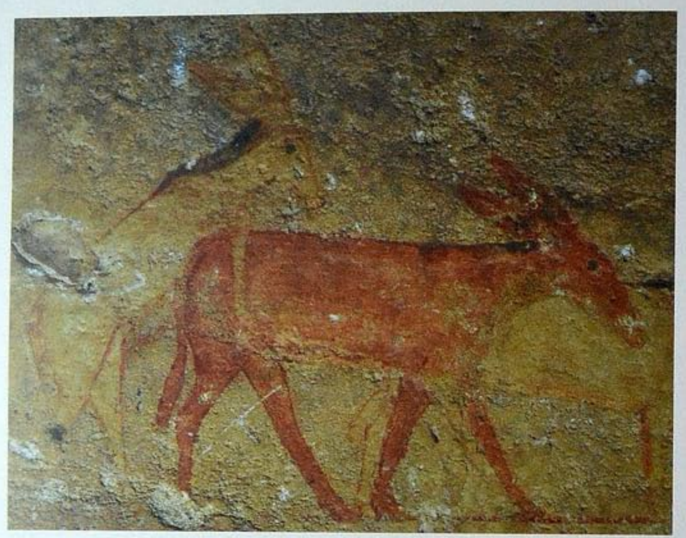
174. Baqet III, a herd of donkeys with their foals, south wall



175. Baqet III, detail of a herd of donkeys with their foals, south wall



176. Khety, a herd of donkeys, west wall



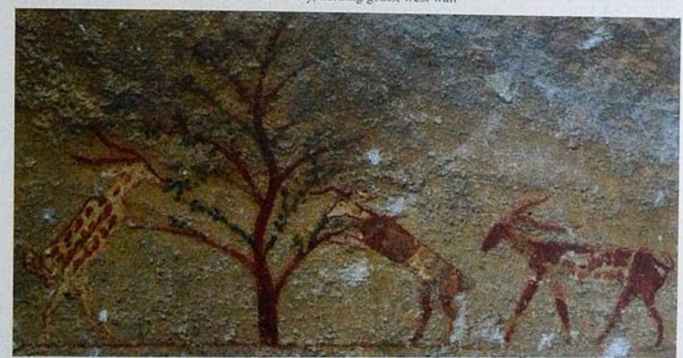
177. Khety, donkeys mating, west wall



178. Khety, donkeys transporting sacks of grain, south wall



179. Khety, herding goats, west wall



180. Khety, browsing goats, west wall



181. Khety, browsing goats, west wall



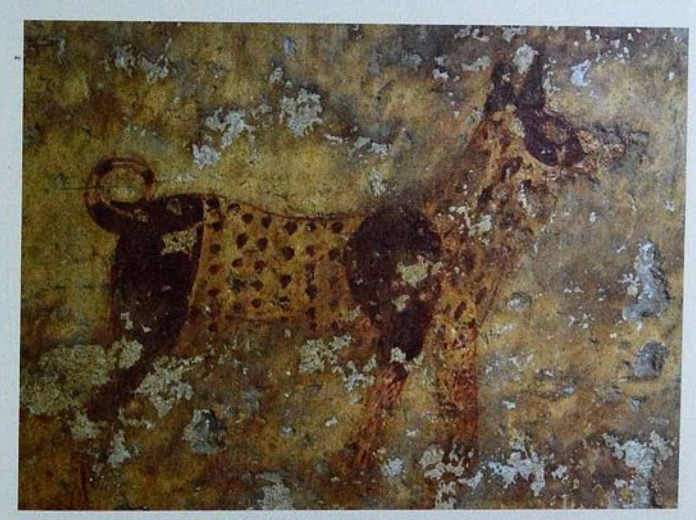
182. Khnumhotep II, hunting dogs, north wall



183. Khnumhotep II, tomb owner's pet dog, north wall



184. Khnumhotep II, tomb owner's pet dog, north wall



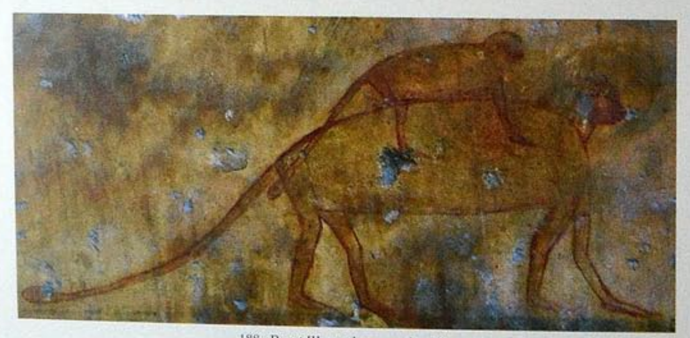
185. Khety, tomb owner's pet dog, south wall



186. Baqet III, cat, mouse, monkeys and baboons, south wall



187. Baqet III, cat and mouse, south wall



188. Baqet III, monkeys, south wall



189. Baqet III, baboons, south wall



190. Khnumhotep II, carried fowl, north wall



191. Khnumhotep II, birds in the marshes, east wall



192. Khnumhotep II, detail of birds in the marshes, east wall



193. Khnumhotep II, birds in the marshes, east wall



194. Khnumhotep II, detail of a bird in the marshes, east wall



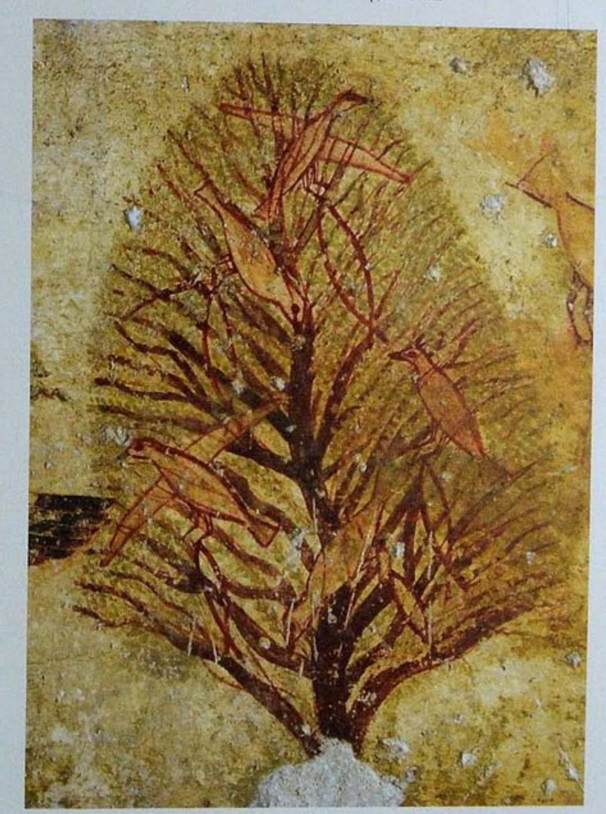
195. Khnumhotep II, detail of a bird in the marshes, east wall



196. Khnumhotep II, detail of a bird in the marshes, east wall



197. Baqet III, birds near a trap, south wall



198. Baqet III, detail of birds in a tree, south wall



199. Khety, detail of birds in a tree, north wall



200. Khety, bird traps, north wall



201. Khety, bird trap, south wall



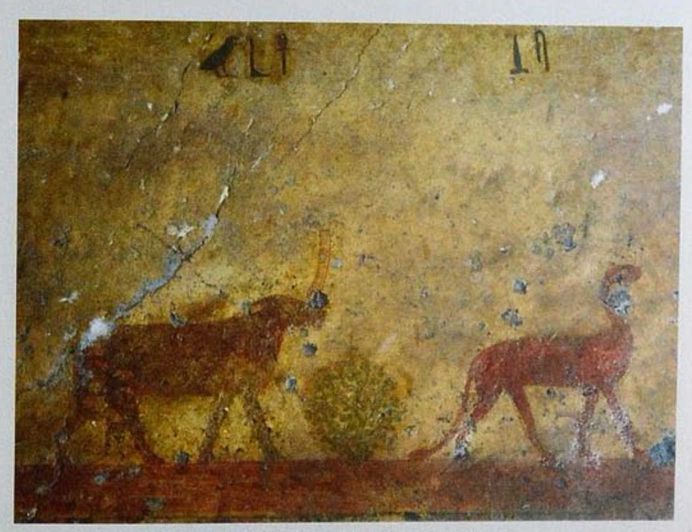
202. Khety, birds flying near a trap, south wall



203. Khety, birds in a tree, south wall



204. Khnumhotep II, mythical creature, north wall



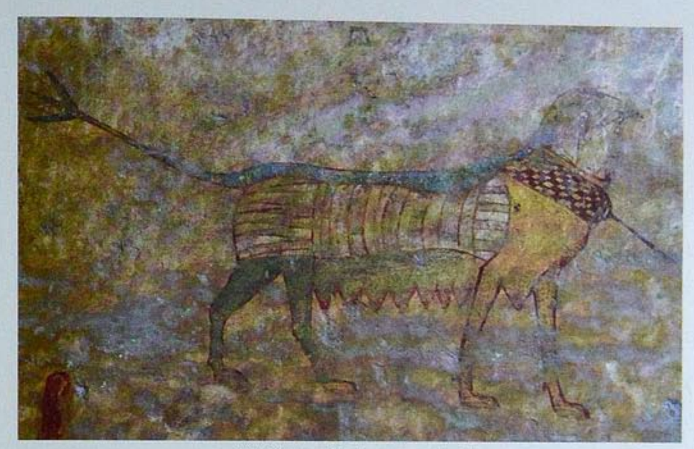
205. Baqet III, mythical creatures, north wall



206. Baqet III, mythical creatures, north wall



207. Khety, mythical creatures, north wall



208. Khety, mythical creature, south wall



209. Khety, detail of mythical creature, south wall



Printed by
Supreme Council of Antiquities Press 2010


9 789774 797927